

## **Justice and Ethnic Diversity Policy-Making in the Islamic Republic of Iran: the Position and Implications**

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### **Abstract**

*Ethnic diversity in each country requires policy-making harmonized with the principles of the political system and the diversity state in that nation. Iran is one of the countries that has ethnic diversity. Justice in the Islamic Republic of Iran is a fundamental discourse and a legitimating factor that policy-making must be based on it. Therefore, justice in ethnic diversity policy-making has importance; it has also some implications. In this paper, by scholarly method and using existing resources and documents, besides choosing the approach and defining justice to put everything in its place as a theoretical framework, the status and importance of justice in policy-making of ethnic diversity will be explored from three perspectives:*

*Firstly, the theoretical aspect by which presenting theories aims at explaining the relationship between justice and the emergence of ethnic crises. Secondly, the objective and field aspect, which signals the results of surveys, indicates the place of justice in policy-making of ethnic diversity. Finally, there is the importance of justice in the high-level documents related to the ethnic domain, which the volume of this issue indicates the significance of discussing justice in policy-making. In the next step, the implications of choosing a fair approach toward ethnic diversity policy-making in the Islamic Republic of Iran have been extracted. Reviews and studies have shown that the principal, objective, process, political and structural implications are taken from the adoption of a fair approach toward the policy-making of ethnic diversity.*

### **Keywords**

*Justice; Policy-Making; Ethnic Diversity; Islamic Republic of Iran; Implication*

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**Introduction**

Nowadays, most countries in the world are placed in heterogeneous and different situation in terms of combination of linguistic, religious and ethnic groups. The heterogeneity of ethnic diversity in countries has raised fundamental questions about how to answer the issues deriving from this diversity and appropriate ethnic policy-making. I.R. Iran, also, is among the countries that has always been ethnically diverse and has experienced a wide range of diverse ethnic politics over historical periods. The Islamic Republic of Iran should then design its own relevant policy with regard to epistemological principles of the political system and the situation of ethnic diversity in Iran. On the other hand, justice is one of the most important human concerns and the most fundamental issues argued by all philosophers and political scientists from all human and divine schools. Justice has also a special place in Islam and for Islamic scholars and philosophers. It should be mentioned that concerning the importance of justice in divine religions, Allah in the Holy Qur'an has announced that the purpose of sending prophets was to obtain and seek justice in the society, and in a narration by the Commander of the Believers (pbuh) the stability of states is reliant on the administration of the tradition of justice: "The stability of the states is to administer the tradition of justice" (Mohammadi-Reyshahri, 1995: 158). Moreover, the Supreme Leader of Revolution, regarding the explanation of the place of justice in the Islamic system, has declared: "The discourse of justice is a fundamental one which is our everything; without it, the Islamic Republic has nothing to say" (In Meeting with Students, 31/10/2004). In fact, justice seems to be considered a legitimate factor in the Islamic system, and the existential philosophy of the State is nothing but the administration of justice in society. Therefore, justice must be reflected and seen in policy-making in different areas. The field of cultural and identity diversity, especially the domain of ethnic diversity is one of the areas in which the category of justice is significantly advanced. In this regard, in addition that this article seeks to show the importance of justice in policy-making of ethnic diversity, it aims to extract and present implications of policy-making in adoption of a fair approach to this field, and for the reason that evaluation of policies and measures related to management of ethnic diversity relies on independent research, this article does not aim to evaluate the extent to which justice is practiced

in the field of practical filed of ethnic diversity management. As a result, the innovation of this article can be a step toward the development of indicators of justice for the purpose of evaluating ethnic diversity management policies. In fact, it is the first step in the evaluation of the Islamic Republic's policies in the matter of ethnicities from the perspective of justice, and attempts to take a step in the place of justice in policy-making of ethnic diversity in the Islamic Republic of Iran and its implications. Therefore, the present article aims to answer the question that, what is the position of justice in policy-making of ethnic diversity in the Islamic Republic of Iran? Besides, what are the policy-making implications of choosing a fair approach to ethnic diversity?

## **2. Theoretical Framework of the Study: Different Approaches to Justice**

The concept of justice, due to its complexity and the extent of its implication, has always been the subject of controversial attention of scholars in different periods; each one of them has tried to explain this concept by using various perspectives and viewpoints. Definitions that are presented to explain this concept have interpreted justice in different ways and expressed various indicators and criteria for designing and measuring it in terms of theory and practice. These approaches cover a wide range, beginning from the early philosophers such as Plato to contemporary ideas that may be complementary, contradictory, and separated. Because of this, many scholars have classified and typologized the theories in their studies of justice and its forms (See, Torabzadeh et al, 2011). Such disagreement in presenting a definition of justice is rooted in the differences among the theoreticians of ontology, epistemology, axiology, and anthropology (Peyghami, 2008: 189). By reviewing and studying the ideas of scholars in the field of justice, four prevailing concepts can be identified which have been always correspondent and affiliated with justice: equality, balance, desert, and putting everything in its place (Derakhsheh et al, 2016: 3). In this respect, the last concept is the chosen model for being examined in this article.

Construing everything in its place is a broad and general meaning that can cover a wide range of domains, including real objects, individuals, institutions, rules, and more generally prescriptions. This concept is also seen in religious texts in the narrations of Imam Ali (pbuh). According to him: "Justice puts things at their

proper place” (The Peak of Eloquence, Utterance 429). This interpretation of justice can be discussed as a comprehensive approach covering all the imaginable domains and conditions. The thinkers of the field of justice have also provided every definition of justice, whether explicitly focused on the definition or returned to it in the depth of their definition. In this regard, how to balance the components of a set in the balance approach, determination of the rights and principles governing the granting of rights, especially the time of conflict between the two rights in pursuing desert approach and the determination of the type and form of the equality approach would return to the very definition of justice as the basis of putting everything in its place (Derakhsheh et al, 2016: 12). Thus, this approach can be considered an appropriate approach to the question of policy-making.

## **2. The Place and Importance of Justice in Ethnic Diversity Policy-Making**

Policy-making in general and ethnic diversity policy-making in particular are especially axiological. Justice can be also regarded as one of the values of the political system and society; therefore, policy-making must be based on justice. The importance of justice in ethnic diversity policy-making can be examined from three perspectives: theoretical aspect, objective and field aspect, and the place of justice in high-level documents related to the realm of ethnic.

### **2.1. The Place and Importance of Justice in Ethnic Diversity Policy-Making from Theoretical Aspect**

In terms of theoretical aspect, the study of the related theories suggests that feelings of discrimination and injustice are very influential in the formation of ethnic crises. For example, a number of theories in this regard are as follows:

- Exchange Theory of Peter Blau: Peter Blau has promoted his analysis of the level of explanation of people’s actions to the level of explaining social structures by formulating the concepts of distributive justice and exchange rates among groups. He discusses the unbalanced nature of exchange and through unequal exchanges and the notion of legitimacy, paves the way to promote structural explanation. He believes that a legitimate social structure has the general acceptance of its members and continues to exist as long as it has such legitimacy. By providing two variants of intrinsic and accidental values, and whether they are two-sided or not, Blau offers the possibility of predicting all kinds of possible outcomes of the

exchange relationship. Through the concepts of exchange theory, he deals with the subject of group persistency, believing that the structural relationships resulted from the exchange between members of a community can strengthen their integrity or, conversely, the lack of formation and occurrence of exchange on the basis of distributed justice would lead to political dissatisfaction, social turmoil, and crisis (Gheisari, 2007: 25).

- **Relative Deprivation and Attribution Theory of Roneyman and Hondrich:** According to this theory, when there were scarcity and limitation of resources among individuals and groups, there would be competition to access resources. If a person or group is able to find and feel that others (individuals or groups) have achieved the desired satisfaction, and that he is not able to achieve it, though he desires it, he would sense injustice or relative deprivation. Such a feeling of backwardness from others that is evoked by comparison of the person or group with others, at the individual level, it would lead to the evocation of grudging, jealousy, and other emotional reactions against an individual or a rival group, and at the social level, this would exacerbate domestic group conflicts. According to attribution theory, participants in interpersonal situations often attribute the causes of personal behavior to situational factors, including the behavior of other participants, while external observers may attribute the same behavior to the personal traits of the participant. Therefore, in situations of social competition, people will seek to attribute the causes of their backwardness to factors outside their own situation. In this sense, social prejudging of the compared group is a kind of external attribution to the sense of backwardness, that is, in the context of the comparison and the competition between the individuals and the groups, prejudging would be external (not necessarily reasonable) reasons that individuals try to justify their backwardness; consequently, this kind of attribution in conditions that is accompanied by social acceptance, it will turn into a norm, and hence will be more prevalent and common. The result is that the greater the feeling of relative deprivation in a person, the greater the probability of prejudging of a person or group when is compared to them, and ultimately these modes of prejudging might lead to disagreements and disputes among the group (Gheisari, 2007: 25-6).

- **Ethnic Discrimination Theory of Guboglo:** One of the theoretical approaches

to the analysis and explanation of ethnic conflicts, which is of high rank among Russian and European scholars, is the theory of Guboglo. According to this theory, ethnic violence and conflict can be examined within social categorization and socioeconomic interests. Guboglo focuses his attention largely on ethnic factors or social classification, labor divisions, and social classification. He considers the phenomenon of usurping the privileged social situations and opportunities by the dominant ethnic group, as well as the impact of social discrimination on the basis of ethnic traits as his major discovery, and believes that these basic social and ethnic differences will have the most powerful motive for the emergence of inter-ethnic tensions and explicit conflicts (Salehi-Amiri, 2006: 22).

- Ethnic violence, Prejudging and Prejudice Theory of David Mayer: In his synthetic theory in order to explain and outline the reasons of ethnic prejudice, David Mayer mentions three categories of factors or resources of prejudice that social inequality is among them. Mayer articulates the principle that inequality, in itself, forms prejudice. Prejudice and discrimination strengthen one another. Discrimination produces prejudice and the latter legitimizes discrimination, and causes hatred of the ruling group and aggression against them (Gheisari, 2007: 27). That is why Bruce Benson has argued that discrimination should be viewed as the fundamental factor in the collapse of legal systems. Discrimination with infiltration through the political-social system and the elimination of morality of relationship will provide the appropriate setting for creating dissatisfaction with social action. For this reason, Allport highlights discrimination in his discussion of the characteristics of feeling of minority, and mentions it as the consensus principle of feeling of minority that all researchers in this area have agreed on it. (Eftekhari, 2004: 122). In a report on the situation of minorities, La Pier et al believe that discrimination can be the best indicator for forming or not forming a feeling of minority in different societies since it is a kind of objective behavior. Discrimination as an objective (political, social, legal, and cultural) behavior is accepted as the major indicator of the transformation of a religious group into a religious minority (as well as ethnic group into ethnic minority) (Eftekhari, 2004: 127). It can be said that on the basis of this theory, despite discrimination, religious and ethnic groups might recognize the necessary incentive to redefine themselves as religious and ethnic minority, and that existence of difference cannot be a cause

for the creation of a feeling of minority in a given society; rather, it is the transformation of such difference into discrimination that according to David Goldberg would damage social culture, and as a result, those groups in minority will react accordingly (Eftekhari, 2004: 129-30).

Contrary to opinions related to the impact of discrimination and injustice on the emergence of ethnic crises, there are some views that lay emphasis on the place and influence of justice over the process of nation-building. In social policy-making theory as one of the models of managing diversities, the promotion of social asset and the creation of social integration and collective identity are directly associated with the process of national identity-making through the administration of justice and equality and the elimination of structural inequalities which lead to the emergence and consolidation of it. In fact, in this theory, the process of nation-building and social integration is heavily influenced by the degree of pursuit of justice. The degree of achieving justice, the perception of justice in the present and the hope for obtaining justice in the future are considered as the three elements defining social justice and guaranteeing a consistent nation-building; moreover, as the condition of justice becomes more stable, it is more likely that possibility of planning and hoping for the future to raise, and the interest of the people and groups to maintain the status quo and prevent social crises to increase (Karimi et al, 2014: 41). Some scholars also introduce justice as the main cause of the process of nation-building. They argue that the study of historical sources indicates that nation-building factors such as land, language, religion, history, ideology, and common race have not been able to build a nation entirely; rather, nation-building is stable and sustained when the development of the nation focuses on social justice based on the factors affecting that process like land, language, religion, and ideology, in a way that these factors are conjured up with justice (Poureza'at, 2012: 8). It seems that either justice is an important part of the process of policy-making of managing diversities or is the main cause of nation-building, it demonstrates the importance of justice in policy-making of managing ethnic diversity, inclining to perform a sustained nation-building.

## **2.2. The Place and Importance of Justice in Ethnic Diversity Policy-Making from Objective Aspect**

The objective aspect of exploring the field studies of the Iranian ethnics also

highlights the importance and place of justice in ethnic diversity policy-making. A field research, based on Ted Robert's views, shows that the role of discrimination and injustice in the emergence of ethnic crises is unique. In this way, that the feeling of discrimination increases both the expectations of the value of the people of ethnic community and the feeling of relative deprivation. The increase in these two factors also leads to the strengthening of ethnic identity which in the end results in the exercise of political violence (Navah et al., 2007). In similar studies, the degree of sense of justice is one of the most important indicators of empathy of the ethnic groups with the national community, and accordingly, the strengthening of the national identity (Jalaeepour et al., 2009), and the lack of justice among people would lead to disappointment over the future and uncertainty of achievement of their goals and desires. This process, if continued, can undermine national identity and start extreme ethnic trends. In fact, justice in different spheres (political, social, cultural, domicile, and economic) has a meaningful relationship with national identity (Navabakhsh et al., 2011). Furthermore, feeling of discrimination and deprivation has a close association with a sense of being a second class citizen and minority. Hence, surveys show that the feeling of discrimination (or its opposite feeling of justice) among Iranian ethnic groups does not result in favorable situation (See, Institute for National Studies, 2016). For example, the issue of feeling of justice in the survey of the collective identity of Iranians is as follows:

Province Capital		Urumia	Ahvaz	Tabriz	Zahedan	Sanandaj	Kerman-shah
Feeling of justice surveys <sup>1</sup>							
Feeling of legal justice	The existing laws cannot ensure people's rights.	36.4	50.9	49.3	43.6	45.7	45.7
Feeling of gender justice	In Iranian society, men can have promotion more than women	56.6	56.6	59.2	51.8	52.2	54.7
Feeling of local justice	In Iran, all ethnic groups and citizens have the same rights	61.2	48.8	42.7	61.2	34.8	43.1
Feeling of distributive justice	In official employment, everyone has the same opportunity.	26.2	49.4	28.2	47.2	26	21
	Budget and funds are not allocated evenly in provinces and counties of Iran. <sup>2</sup>	40.8	34	31.1	41.6	30.6	21.8
Mean of justice feeling		44.24	47.94	42.1	49.08	37.86	37.26

Artivate Windows

**Table 1: Evolution of Feeling of Justice in Capital Cities of Provinces with Ethnic Diversity**

The low level of feeling of justice among Iranian ethnic groups indicate the place and importance of this category in ethnic diversity policy-making. On the other hand, the analysis of active media's contents in the field of ethnic groups, specifically that of those radical ethnic groups, show that they try hard to induce and evoke feeling of discrimination and deprivation among the Iranian ethnic groups (Houshangi, 2007: 105).

### **2.3. The Place of Justice in High-Level Documents Related to Ethnic Diversity Management**

The notion of justice in the system of the Islamic Republic of Iran is very significant and is somehow regarded as a legitimate factor in that system. It is natural that to reach the desired point in the field of justice is to pay attention to this notion in policy-making. The Supreme Leader of the Revolution declares: "planning and policy-making that ignore justice and the fair distribution of wealth in society cannot meet our desired perspective; it is not our desired plan (06/08/2003). Therefore, policies without any attention to Justice will not succeed in achieving policy-making goals. High-level documents of the State as an important part of policy-making in the Islamic Republic of Iran should contain this fact. In this section of the paper, some examples of a just approach to high-level documents are cited here that are related to the discussions of ethnic diversity in Iran. It is worth noting that the focus of this extraction on the chosen approach of this article to justice would be the approach of putting everything in its place:

- Emphasis on the equality of the rights of Iranian people regardless of ethnic, language and race: Article 19 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran highlights: "The people of Iran coming from every kind of ethnic and tribe have equal rights, color, race, language, and so forth will not grant privilege." Moreover, one of the principles of the cultural policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is "the sameness and equality of human beings in Creation and non-differentiation between colors and races and other human classes" (the Principles of Cultural Policy of the Country).
- The reception of ethnic and religious diversity in the country reflected in various documents, particularly the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran (Articles 12 and 15).
- Emphasis on the administration of social justice in several of the Five-Year De-

velopment Plans of the country, especially in areas with ethnic diversity (mostly located in borders): In development plans of the country, lack of regional balances are considered as one of the obstacles to the administration of social justice. Therefore, the elimination of this lack has been emphasized for the purpose of achieving social justice (e.g. Article 12, Paragraph 1, the General Policies of the Second Development Plan and Note 6 of the First Development Plan). What's more, to emphasize the development of deprived regions, which are part of the regions with minor ethnic diversity, in some cases, the positive discrimination for the benefit of these areas have been the focus of attention of policy-makers. For instance, the Fifth Development Plan has been emphasized the extension of social justice through different ways including "essential measures for compensation of backwardness over the past historical periods" (Paragraph 35, General Policies of the Sixth Development Plan)

- Emphasis on removal of unfair discrimination and creation of equal opportunities for all peoples in all of the material and spiritual fields as the responsibility of the Islamic Republic of Iran (Article 9, Paragraph 9)
- Observance of the principle of meritocracy: One aspect of having a fair approach to high-level documents is to pay attention to individual competencies and capabilities in appointing and employing individuals in different positions. This matter has been considered in various documents, in a way that in the Second Development Plan of the Government, determination of the system of appointment of qualified, capable, committed and specialized managers (Note 32 of the Second Development Plan) and in the Fourth Development Plan, meritocracy in the appointment and employment of forces in positions have been highlighted (Article 141 of the Fourth Development Plan)
- Free education and training for all people at all levels, and the facilitation and generalization of higher education as the duty of the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran (Article 3, Paragraph 3 of the Constitution), the fair distribution of opportunities and educational and research facilities in higher education throughout the country (Paragraphs 2 to 6 of General Policies of Science and Technology) and the creation of equal educational opportunities (Article 30 of the Constitution). Pre-school education and preparation in bilingual regions (Note S of Article 52 of the Fourth Development Plan)

- Maintenance and employment of population in border regions through the development of infrastructure networks, and support and encouragement of investment and creation a space of employment and labor with sufficient income (Paragraph 10 of General Policies of Population)
- Attention to culture and language of Iranian ethnic groups alongside of national culture and official language of the country: The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, in addition to introducing the Persian language as the official language and written form of the people of Iran, has emphasized the use of local and ethnic languages freely in the press and mass media and teaching their literature at schools along with the Persian language (Article 15 of the Constitution) On the same basis, Article 19, Paragraph J of the Fifth Development Plan illustrates: “Education and nurturing is permitted within the defined boundaries marked in article 15 of the Constitution of the local dialect and literature at schools.” On the other hand, the reverence of the elites and ethnic elders and the preservation of their culture as part of the national culture is also emphasized. For example, in Article 109 of the Government’s Fourth Development Plan has been urged that in order to preserve and introduce the historical identity of Iran and to use elements and components of Iranian identity, measures such as the systematic collection of oral history, dialects and accents, the customs of national and indigenous culture should be taken. Of course, it should be paid attention to the fact that due to the importance of national integration and unity in these documents, the need to enrich and strengthen the commitment of ethnic groups for national identity has been highlighted (Paragraph 21 of the Principles of Cultural Policy of the Country). In other words, from the perspective of the high-level documents, strengthening ethnic culture should not contradict national culture.

### **3. Implications of Choosing a Fair Approach to Ethnic Diversity Policy-Making**

Choosing a fair approach to ethnic diversity policy-making is influential in different areas of policy-making. Justice, in addition to being part of policy-making principles, influences objectives, processes and contents of policy-making as well as the structure of implementation of policies. In this regard, in order to understand fully the implications of choosing a fair approach, we should pay attention to each of the above mentioned areas.

### **3.1. Fundamental Implications of Choosing a Fair Approach (Justice as the Ruling Principle)**

When a policy is enacted, it might have several positive and negative effects on social life. Hence, it should be carried out in accordance with the principles of policy-making to minimize its negative effects and to increase its positive impacts. The principles governing policy-making are the basis of it in different social, political, cultural and economic areas. In fact, defining the principles governing policy-making, in addition to determining the values governing policy-making and the criteria for evaluating politics, is the central part of policy-making (Ghasemi, 2008: 81). In the literature of policy-making, principles such as justice, freedom (Moore, 2006: 29), the principle of paying attention to the public expediency or interest, and the principle of paying attention to national interests (Rahpeyk, 2001), security and acceptance of social and cultural differences are addressed (Ghasemi, 2008: 82). Justice is one of the most rigorous and repetitive principles that has been considered by many scholars as the governing principle of policy-making. On the other hand, the value system governing every political system and society plays a decisive role in defining these principles. In other words, every value system, based on its conceptual system, presents specific definition of principles. This definition can have similar and different points with other definitions. Specifically, the definition of justice in different thoughts (liberal, socialist, and Islamic) has differences with one another that can have significant effects on policy-making. It is evident that a liberalist approach that focuses on primacy of an individual and maximization of interests, or a socialist approach that considers primacy of society and maximization of social interests apart from personal interests, will not be able to have similar effect on policy-making.

### **3.2. Objective Implications of a Fair Approach (the Impact of Justice on the Objectives of Policy-Making)**

The most important and the very first effect of the notion of justice in goals of policy-making is to focus on objectives in various fields of policy-making and to consider justice in the objectives of all fields of policy-making. Furthermore, achieving a desirable point in terms of identity (a desirable ratio between individual, ethnic, religious, national and religious identities), strengthening national identity and integration, and the components of national identity (Iranian, Islam-

ic, revolutionary), non-removal of culture and ethnic identity in the process of policy-making alongside of strengthening national identity, strengthening ethnic culture and identity along with strengthening national identity, arriving at the desired point (minimum national average) in the development and economic fields, administering social justice and balanced development by utilizing the capacities of the regions, paying attention to religion as the cause of unity of the Iranian society, and accordingly, strengthening religious principles and making efforts to promote religious education of ethnic groups can be the objectives of ethnic diversity policy-making that have emanated from justice.

### **3.3. Process Implications of a Fair Approach (the Impact of Justice on the Process of Policy-Making)**

Justice is seen in the process of policy-making. Policy-making is an axiological fact, presenting in different fields of policy-making. In this regard, the definition of the question should be based on personal value system or the system of policy-maker. Justice is also one of the values of the value system of an individual, the society and the State, which becomes the basis for the conception of the question. On the other hand, since the definition of the question is the way of conception of the question as well, so the definition of the question means the expression of some facts and the presentation of a value judgment around them (Vahid, 2004: 26-7); and since the definition of the problem is based on the accepted values of society, so justice is one of the value concepts that can be the foundation for defining the problem. In other words, since different perceptions of the question are made by different groups, and these perceptions are in line with their party and group interests, justice can be a criterion for guiding and directing these perceptions and definitions (Alvani et al., 2004: 64-6). Another result of policy-making being axiological is to offer a solution based on the value system, which of course, justice is regarded as part of this value system. On the other hand, holistic view of the issue and solutions are also part of the implications of choosing a fair approach.

### **3.4. Thematic (Political) Implications of Choosing a Fair Approach**

Choosing a fair approach in the field of policy-making emphasizes the necessity of comprehensive policy-making and attention to all areas in this regard. In fact, it will be just policy-making when it pays attention to comprehensive

policy-making. In addition, choosing a fair approach to proposed policies will be effective in each field. Regarding the chosen approach of the article to justice, political implications in each of the areas are as follows:

1) Political implications of a choosing a fair approach in cultural and social fields: some of the crystallization of justice in policy-making of the fields of culture and society are as follows:

- Utilization of the capacity and advantage of different languages and dialects in the mass media to compete with the active media in the ethnic realm
- Advertisement of the services of the State in the regions with ethnic diversity in a non-sensitive way to remove feeling of discrimination and deprivation
- Appropriate and accurate representation of the true image of the ethnic people in society
- Cultural roleplaying of regions with ethnic diversity for strengthening the culture of these regions and immunity of ethnic groups against cultural, intellectual and political influences of foreigners, radically religious, ethnic and takfiri groups
- Necessary design of protecting the culture of ethnic groups and strengthening the languages and dialects of them
- Reverence and respect for the elders and influencers of regions with ethnic diversity and having continuous communication with them
- Balancing the effectiveness of social reference groups in regions with ethnic diversity (balancing the pyramid of social power)
- Using the capacity of the educational system to strengthen national identity and integration
- Reforming and creating academic disciplines in regions with ethnic diversity in accordance with their needs
- Improvement of quantitative and qualitative education at different levels (schools and universities and the issue of literacy) in a way that the minimum level of education in these regions would not be lower than the average level of education in the country
- Promoting the level of national integration and strengthening national culture by paying attention to teaching local and ethnic languages as freedom (full implementation of Article 15 of the Constitution), and focusing on centrality of the common languages of the Iranian ethnic people and neighboring countries

2) Political implications of choosing a fair approach in the economic field: some of the political implications of justice in the economic field are as follows:

- Determination of the place of regions with ethnic diversity in the Resilient Economy, with particular attention to the capacities and economic opportunities of these regions
- Particular attention to purposeful development with domestic, justice-based planning of regions with ethnic diversity

3) Political Implications of choosing a fair approach in the field of religion: one of the crystallization of justice in policy-making in the field of religion is as follows:

- Strengthening the religiosity among Iranian ethnic groups based on their own creed and religion without being influenced by a foreign country and bereft of radical and takfiri components

4) Political implications of choosing a fair approach in the political field: some of the crystallization of justice in policy-making in the political sphere can be as follows:

- Designing necessary policies to utilize ethnic capacities in positions and responsibilities
- Making staff from Iranian ethnic groups to work in different fields of the country
- Observance of the principle of meritocracy in appointing and employing people in positions and occupations
- Non-interference of ethnic and religious issues in national divisions and attention to sensitivities in this regard

5) Political implications of choosing a fair approach in the field of policy-making: some of the crystallization of justice in policy-making are as follows:

- Observing and assessing the identity images of ethnic regions, especially the notion of feeling of justice (continuous monitoring) as an introduction to policy-making or evaluation and changing the policies
- Cultural and identity attachment of modes of policy-making and plans in the regions with ethnic diversity
- Particular attention to the presence and contribution of people in different dimensions of policy-making
- Setting multidimensional and comprehensive policymaking and avoiding adopting single-dimensional approaches in policy-making

- Attention to the realities of the Iranian community and the conditions of the regions with ethnic diversity in policy-making
  - Choosing the right time for policy-making
  - Stressing the exercise of positive discrimination against regions with ethnic diversity in different regions with considering feasibility of each region
- 6) Political implications of choosing a fair approach in management field: some of the crystallization of justice in policy-making in this field of are as follows:
- Using experienced, creative, national persons with broad understanding and ruling view, of course with regard to observance of meritocracy in this field
  - Leveling the human resources, structure and facilities (organization of the instrument) and politics and ideas (software) of the border regions with deep areas

### **3.5. Structural Implications of Choosing a Fair Approach**

Choosing a fair approach will affect the structuralization of policy-making administration. On this basis, a structure that ensures the implementation of politics, avoids viewing only some parts, and has a holistic approach to policies will be a just structure (Khalili, 2012: 110). If the structure is designed in a way that does not have association with justice, justice cannot play an important role in policy-making in this structure. In terms of putting everything in its place, those institutions and organizations should be present in the structure that are effective in implementing policies; in other words, a justice-based policy will be successful when the structure is justice-based.

### **Conclusion**

The existence of ethnic diversity in each country shows the necessity of policy-making in accordance with its conditions and the intellectual principles of that country's State. The intellectual principles of State's sovereignty have been shaped by various components and principles that in the Islamic Republic of Iran the principle of justice is one of them. Justice in addition to being a legitimate basis of the political system, and any policy-making regardless of this principle will result in dire consequences, in the field of ethnic diversity policy-making, this has of importance to the extent that many views based on the impact of feeling of discrimination and injustice in the formation of ethnic crises have been developed. This paper attempts to examine the designed framework of some of these

theories, such as Peter Blau's theory of exchange, the relative deprivation and attribution theories of Roneyman and Hondrich, the theory of ethnic discrimination by Guboglo, the theory of ethnic prejudice, prejudging and violence of David Meyer. On the other hand, justice can create the foundation for the process of nation-building, which, in comparison with other factors affecting nation-building, has an important place, and somehow can be the main cause of the nation-building. In fact, if particular attention has been paid to the notion of justice in identity politics and the process of nation-building, other influential factors in this process will be meaningful, and ultimately will lead to stable process of nation-building. Theoretical findings for explaining the importance of the place and impact of justice on the ethnic diversity policy-making can be also proven in experimental and field studies. Studies and surveys conducted among Iranian ethnic groups indicate that lack of justice in society or the feeling of its lack in public is considered one of the major factors in the eruption of tribal-ethnic crises.

In this paper, in addition to examining the place and importance of justice in ethnic diversity policy-making, it is attempted to explore the implications of a fair approach in various areas of policy-making. Justice as one of the fundamental principles in policy-making in the Islamic Republic of Iran plays a central role in ethnic diversity policy-making as the governing principle. In other words, if conflict or contradiction occurs in policy-making of some principles, what is dominated over other principles is the principle of justice. Therefore, it can be noted that in the system of policy-making of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the principle of justice is recognized as dominant. Justice is also effective in determining the goals of ethnic diversity policy-making, so the objective implications of choosing a fair approach in ethnic diversity policy-making manifested in some of its objectives. By accepting the chosen approach to justice (putting everything in its place), attention to the desirable point in terms of identity, namely the observance of a desirable ratio between individual, ethnic, religious, national and religious identities, can be one of the main goals of ethnic diversity policy-making. In this regard, in policy-making, considering all components of national identity (Iranian, Islamic, revolutionary), and naturally, the removal of ethnic culture and identity in the process of policy-making is regarded as a prime objective. In other areas of policy-making, such as the economic, religious, and political fields, the

goals should be determined on the basis of justice. Determining goals will be used in the next steps of policy-making, especially the evaluation of the policy. As pointed out in the article, policy-making is axiological, so a value like justice should manifest in different parts of policy-making. In this respect, it is essential that the process of ethnic diversity policy-making to be justice-based. The definition of the problem should be based on the value system of the individual or the policy maker. Justice is one of these values of the value system of the individual, society and the State, which is the basis for understanding the issue. At the stage of offering solution, the principle of justice should occur. In the field of political implication, choosing a justice-based approach to policy-making, in addition to affecting the strategies of each area, can denote to necessity of policy-making in all fields (political, social, cultural, economic, security, etc.). In other words, comprehensive policy-making and attention to various fields in ethnic diversity policy-making is crucial which is derived from choosing a fair approach to ethnic diversity policy-making. Desirable and effective policy-making without providing a meaningful, appropriate structure is meaningless. Considering the principle of justice in this section can also contain implications. For example, a fair structure is the structure that leads to the implementation of policies, or to use all the elements and institutions that influence ethnic diversity policy-making. In addition, justice can be considered as an indicator of the evaluation of policies in the field of ethnic diversity management, which was not studied in this paper. In summary, it can be said that the arguments discussed in this article can be used in the formulation of justice indicators for evaluating ethnic diversity management policies and is a step toward the development of justice indicators for evaluating ethnic diversity management policies.

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## عدالت و سیاست‌گذاری تنوع قومی در جمهوری اسلامی ایران؛ جایگاه و دلالت‌ها

تاریخ دریافت: ۱۳۹۷/۰۹/۱۱

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### چکیده

تنوع قومی در هر کشوری نیازمند سیاست‌گذاری متناسب با مبانی نظام سیاسی و وضعیت تنوع در آن کشور است. ایران نیز جزء کشورهایی به شمار می‌رود که دارای تنوع قومی است. عدالت در نظام جمهوری اسلامی ایران یک گفتمان اساسی و عامل مشروعیت‌بخش به شمار می‌رود که باید سیاست‌گذاری بر مبنای آن انجام شود. بنابراین عدالت در سیاست‌گذاری تنوع قومی هم دارای جایگاه و اهمیت است و هم دلالت‌های را به جای می‌گذارد. در این مقاله با روش اسنادی و با بهره‌گیری از منابع و اسناد موجود، ضمن انتخاب رویکرد و تعریف عدالت به وضع اشیاء در مواضع خودشان به عنوان چارچوب نظری مختار، به بررسی جایگاه و اهمیت عدالت در سیاست‌گذاری تنوع قومی از سه منظر می‌پردازد؛ اول از جنبه نظری که با ارائه تئوری‌ها به تبیین رابطه عدالت و بروز بحران‌های قومی می‌پردازند، دوم از جنبه عینی و میدانی به نتایج پیمایش‌هایی اشاره دارد که جایگاه عدالت در سیاست‌گذاری تنوع قومی نشان می‌دهد و سوم از جنبه جایگاه عدالت در اسناد بالادستی مرتبط با حوزه قومی که میزان حجم این موضوع نشان از اهمیت بحث عدالت در سیاست‌گذاری دارد. در گام بعد نیز دلالت‌های اتخاذ رویکرد عادلانه در سیاست‌گذاری تنوع قومی در جمهوری اسلامی ایران استخراج شده است. بررسی‌ها و مطالعات نشان می‌دهد دلالت‌های اصولی، هدفی، فرآیندی، سیاستی و ساختاری از اتخاذ رویکرد عادلانه در سیاست‌گذاری تنوع قومی بار نشأت می‌گیرند.

### واژگان کلیدی

عدالت، سیاست‌گذاری، تنوع قومی، جمهوری اسلامی ایران، دلالت

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