CONTINUATION OF THE PROCESS OF STATE-BUILDING AND INSTITUTIONALIZATION IN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN

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ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this paper is to identify and analyze State-building and Institutionalization in the political thought and practical conduct of Ayatollah Khamenei (the Islamic Republic of Iran). In order to answer this paper's questions, we have used document analysis method, which is one of qualitative methods, to review available documents including books, articles, theses, etc. By examining the political thought of Ayatollah Khamenei, such parameters as paying attention to the society's values, political crises, and special circumstances of the time, which have been influential in his Institutionalization, are considered. It can be said that Institutionalization has a special situation in the political thought and practical conduct of Ayatollah Khamenei. So, after examining his political thought, we will try to present some evidence of Ayatollah Khamenei's Institutionalization based on various functions and with regard to the parameters mentioned above separately. Introduction and establishment of political, legislative, judicial, scientific-cultural, military, and service institutions on a temporary or permanent basis are among the evidence of Institutionalization under the leadership of Ayatollah Khamenei.

Keywords: *Institutionalization, State-building, Islamic Republic of Iran, society's values, political crises, special circumstances of the time.*

INTRODUCTION

The study of political institutions is the main subject of Political Science because institutions are considered as solutions to conflicts and means to regulate the behavior of individuals. These institutions reduce political and economic tensions, but they also increase tensions due to their shortcomings. Therefore, institutions are social categories that are the results of conscious or unconscious consensus and agreement. By reducing conflicts and specifying criteria for individual and social behaviors, institutions can provide the possibility of creating harmony and unity in the society. Consensus, harmony, conflict, democracy, tolerance, cooperation, coordination, opposition, and every social relationship are directly and indirectly influenced by institutions. Furthermore, the criterion of the success of a revolution is also determined by the stability of the institutions that it has established. Since the continuation and consolidation of the Process State-building of the Islamic Republic was also in need of Institutionalization in various fields, Ayatollah Khamenei has played a major role in this context by Institutionalization in order to stabilize the Republic. Thus, the study of his political thought and practical style, as Iran's highest political authority, is important. Therefore, the main

purpose of this research is to know and analyze the Institutionalization in the leadership style of Ayatollah Khamenei. Accordingly, the present research seeks to answer two main questions: 1. What are the concepts and theoretical foundations of Institutionalization? 2. How is Institutionalization in the political thinking and practical approach of Ayatollah Khamenei? In order to answer these questions, the document analysis, which is one of qualitative methods, has been used and the available documents including books, articles, theses, etc. have been examined.

A) The theoretical framework of Institutionalization in Islam and the West

Considering the importance of the role of institutions in creating stability and tranquility of the society, various theories have been developed. In order to answer the first question of this research regarding the theoretical concepts and foundations of Institutionalization in Islam, we first examine Institutionalization in Islam. Then, by examining the practical conduct of the Infallibles (peace be upon them), evidence of Institutionalization in their practical conduct will be presented. Afterwards, Western theories with respect to Institutionalization will be presented and examined.

1. The style of Islamic leadership in Institutionalization

1.1. The Quranic verses

The most important institution mentioned in the Quran is the mosque. In the earliest stage of Islam, the institution of mosque had a special importance because, in addition to being a place of worship, it was considered a place and institution for carrying out administrative, economic, social, political, judicial, and military activities of the Muslim community as well. It can be said that mosque enjoys the characteristic of limitation and possibility-building for an institution. Also as a culture-building institution of Islam that affects the behavioral pattern of Muslims in all affairs, the mosque plays an important role in the formation of Muslims' culture and identity at individual and social levels. Therefore, due to the importance of the institution of mosque in Muslims' individual and social lives, God uses and underlines the institution of mosque in the Qur'an 28 times in various verses and with respect to various subjects. (Baqarah (Cow): 114; Tawbah (Repentance): 17, 18, 107, 108; A'raf (Heights): 29, 31; Hajj: 40; Noor (Light): 36...).

1.2. The practice of the Infallibles

One of the wise actions of the Prophet (PBUH) at the dawn of Islam was Institutionalization; the institutions that were founded by the prophet (PBUH) were either unprecedented or, if they existed before, they underwent drastic changes. It can be said that the first measure taken by the Prophet (PBUH) after the migration (Hijrah) was the creation of the institution of mosque (Shahidi, 2006). With the establishment of Quba Mosque by the Prophet (PBUH) in Medina, other administrative, political, social, legal, cultural and military institution were established the mosque as well. Thus, the affairs of the Islamic society were organized in the mosque, and the commands of the Prophet (PBUH) regarding various matters were implemented. In fact, the mosque was the centerpiece of all institutions. In this way, the Prophet (PBUH) set up the institutions in his first step towards the establishment of the Islamic state. Upon his arrival in Medina and a more precise division of labor with regard to the administration of the Islamic society, the Prophet (PBUH) established institutions with various social, political, economic, cultural, military, and other functions. Some of the cases will be mentioned below.

1) **The institution of support for the deprived:** Some Muslims took residence next to the Prophet's mosque because they did not have any housing or relatives in Medina; they were called *Ahl al-Suffah* [the People of the Platform] (Vaqedi, 1990). Therefore, while helping them, the Prophet (PBUH) encouraged the Muslims who were financially affluent to help them (Mostamli Bokhari, 1984). In this way, they tried, help them, to solve the problem of poverty of a group of Muslims in the young Islamic society as much as possible. So, it can be said that His Holiness established the first institution to support the deprived in Islam.

2) **The institution of teaching and training:** Upon his arrival in Medina and establishing the Islamic state, the Prophet (PBUH) paid special attention to the "education of religious teachings, skill-learning, teaching of calligraphy, learning of foreign languages in order to respond to international correspondences and communications, teaching of professions and jobs, and the like." Therefore, this institution assumed such duties as teaching of reading and writing, martial arts training, teaching different skills, teaching foreign languages, etc. Also, people with knowledge and skills had to teach others (Ahmadi, 2006).

3) **The institution of writing down the Revelation:** The main task of writing down the revelation was upon Imam Ali (AS), 'Uthman bin 'Affan and Zayd ibn Thabit. Also 42 other persons are mentioned as writers of the Revelation (Ahmadi, 2006).

4) **The economic institution:** Gradually, with the expansion of the rule of Islam, the Quranic verses related to different edicts were descending. With the diversification and increase of the sources of income, and the expenditures of the public expenses, of the Islamic state, the establishment of the economic institution deemed essential for the Islamic state (Ahmadi, 2006). The sources of income of the Islamic state at the time of the Prophet (PBUH) included *Zakah, Khums, Jizyah*, war spoils, and *Kharaj* (Vaqedi, 1990). The affairs of the financial organization were organized in a specialized way (Ebrahimi, 2007).

5) **The defense and military institution:** For military defense, "there was no independent and permanent institution. It was often done through public mobilization and organization during operations; but for military preparations, training of military techniques, provision storage, stalls, and even reservation of the quadruped," the state considered specific measures (Ahmadi, 2006).

6) **The judicial institution:** "*Qadha' al-Mazhalim* [the Ombudsman], which was later known as the *Diwan al-Mazhalim* [Court of Complaints], was established in order to deal with the transgression and injustice of government officials and the employees and agents of the Islamic system against the people and citizens. According to the available evidence, the Prophet (PBUH) personally judged in this court."(Ahmadi, 2006).

7) **The institution of diplomacy:** "The dispatch of ambassadors to the courts of kings and great empires was the last plan in pursuit of the goal of the world mission of His Holiness" (Ahmadi, 2006). This was done following the peace of *Hudaibiyyah*. Therefore, it can be seen that in order to establish and form the Islamic state and put in order, and coordinate, the affairs and unify Muslims' practices, the Prophet (PBUH) began to build institutions in various fields. This Institutionalization continued during the imamate of the infallible Imams (AS).

The institution of "wikalah [representation]" can be pointed out as one the most important Institutionalization measures taken by Imam Sadiq (AS) and expanded afterwards by the

infallible Imams following him. By exploring this institution, it can be said that the duties of the institution of representation include the financial, communicative, scientific and guidance, and social and service roles and scholarly combat against the deviants and the fake pretenders of representation, and ultimately preparing the Shiites' mentality for entering the era of occultation (Jabbari, 2003).

2. The Institutionalization style of Western leadership

Considering the importance of Institutionalization, the viewpoints and theories of some Western theorists will be presented in this regard below.

2.1. Historical institutionalism:

It can be said that the model of historical institutionalism is the richest model for institutionalist analysis in political science. Historical institutionalists believe that institutions are rules that restrict and form behavior. They also believe that actors often follow the rules that are socially defined and the institutions formed in the process of history; these institutions may not be fully in line with their interests. Therefore, institutions are subjects that have developed through the historical process and remain for the future and influence the goals of the actors and the path to their realization in later periods. Historical institutionalists call this influence "path dependence". Since every society has its own different backgrounds, similar institutions will have different results in different fields (Kazemi, 2013). Historical institutionalism believes that, in order to understand the formation of various political, economic, cultural and other forms of institutions, the societies' history must be studied. Thus, the process and manner of the formation of institutions, whether spontaneous or planned, can be understood. Historical institutionalism has a large capacity for the explanation of the causal dynamics of the relationship between actors and institutions (Kazemi, 2013).

Historical institutionalists believe that institutions embody the history's trajectory. If a concrete example is to be presented for the institutions that come from a targeted planning, it is the institutions of the political system in which some actors with specific goals set up specific institutions in certain periods of history. From the viewpoint of historical institutionalism, the process of Institutionalization and actors' Institutionalization behavior depend on the institutional heritage hidden in the background of Institutionalization actions on the one hand, and are influenced by the social and political conflicts over contradicting interests in a particular historical period on the other (Kazemi, 2013). Institutionalization actors represent social and political forces with ideological tastes that confront each other in a period of institutional crisis (the collapse of the political system and the emergence of a new one, etc.) and try to protect their group's interests through influencing the trend and shape of the institutions that are in the making (Kazemi, 2013). Historical institutionalism claims that institutions are often built through politics and the structure of political conflict (Thelen, 1999: 374). Historical institutionalist studies are based on two basic concepts: The trajectory-based change and the constructive moment. These concepts are explained below.

A. **The trajectory-based change:** The first concept is "trajectory-based change" (Mirtorabi, 2017). It can be said that the institutions created by the leaders during the initial stages of state-building with freedom of action will determine their choice in the face of political and economic crises in the later years (Smith, 2007: 25). Simultaneous with their development, institutions cause change in the choices before the leaders who created them (Mirtorabi, 2017). Furthermore, when political actors move in a specific

direction while accepting the risks related to it, they find it very difficult to return from the specified path. Thus, the unselected paths or alternative solutions, the acceptance of which was once possible, are irreversibly lost (Skocpol and Pierson, 2002: 695).

B. **The constructive moment:** The second concept is the "constructive moment." The constructive moment is the particular time when the decisions of politicians are institutionalized and it is very difficult to return from them (Smith, 2010). Based on this concept, a sensitive time in the post-revolutionary period may be considered during which the revolutionary leaders make fateful decisions and choices about the way to build institutions of politics and government (Mirtorabi, 2017) It can be said that what separates a constructive moment from other periods is that certain choices are made, at a critical moment, that advance the systems in a path of change and development and follow certain specific consequences. This path cannot be easily broken up or reversed.

C. **Institutionalization from below:** Institutionalization from below is one of the main issues of Institutionalization. It means that the Institutionalization decisions of the elites are influenced by the main values of the inner layers of the community. Therefore, the elites try to identify and utilize the organizational structures that are in line with the internal values of the community and are effective in dealing with existing problems. When social revolutions happen, the elites, who are followed and supported by vast layers of the society, enter the important part of state-building, and their decisions are made based on the ideological values of the revolution that enjoy the majority's support. Consequently, an active participation emerges from within the society in order to build new institutions; this can be described as Institutionalization from below (Mirtorabi, 2017). When the institutions meet the accepted values of the society, they can be reproduced and sustained. "The continuity of the functioning of the institutions of a revolutionary state in the context of the crisis caused by the collapse of the past order and in confrontation with various types of internal and external threats, indicates the success and ability of the state to build institutions" (Mirtorabi, 2017).

B) Institutionalization in the political thought and practical approach of Ayatollah Khamenei

In order to answer the second question, namely "how is Institutionalization in the political thought and practical approach of Ayatollah Khamenei?" the political thought and practical conduct of Ayatollah Khamenei in this regard will be explored. So, we would address and explain Institutionalization in his political thought first.

1. Institutionalization in the political thought of Ayatollah Khamenei

Based on the theoretical foundations of the values of the society, political crises and certain circumstances are parameters that affect Institutionalization. Therefore, we turn to the analysis of these parameters in the political thought of Ayatollah Khamenei.

1.1. The ideology and values of the society and their role in Institutionalization in the political thought of Ayatollah Khamenei

By examining some of Ayatollah Khamenei's speeches, his attention to the ideology and values of the society can be understood. Considering the Islamic Republic system, he regards the origin of the most important institution of the country, namely the institution of the state, as "popular-divine" (Lakzaee, Javidi, 2018). Furthermore, with regard to the issue of religious

democracy, one can also say that democracy is, in fact, based on the consideration of the ideology and values of the society. Ayatollah Khamenei explicitly refers to, and underlines, the Islamic Revolution's Institutionalization and the influence of values on Institutionalization (Statements, 01.10.2011). He also emphasizes the role of society's ideology and values in the establishment of the two institutions: Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps and Basij (Statements, 14.10.2011). Ayatollah Khamenei considers the formation of the desirable society based on the ideology and values of the Islamic society and the Islamic Shari'a (Statements, 31.05.1990); and he refers to, and underlines, in his statements, the society's goal, wish, and values in the establishment of the Islamic Republic (Statements, 30.04.2008).

In the opinion of Ayatollah Khamenei, the institutions established in the Islamic Republic are based on the society's ideology (05.05.2014). Ayatollah Khamenei sees Institutionalization based on values as one of the characteristics of the leadership of Imam Khomeini (RA). He also considers issues like recognizing people's strength and utilizing it, and creating institutions with a view to protecting the achievements of the Revolution as some of the characteristics of the Leadership of the movement, and refers to them as "the art of Imam Khomeini (RA)" (Statement, 04.02.2014). He even emphasizes the role of society's values and the popular acceptance of it in the expansion of religious institutions too acknowledging it as one of the indicators of the power of the Islamic Revolution (Statement, 05.05.2014). Based on Ayatollah Khamenei's political thought, building institutions based on the society's ideology and values is the second stage in the process of building the Islamic civilization. Therefore, one can understand the significance of this subject in his political thought (Statements, 28.05.2018). It can be said that Ayatollah Khamenei emphasizes, on different occasions in his speeches, the role of society's ideology and the values in Institutionalization (Statements, 04.02.2014 and 16.10.2011).

1.2. Attending to the special circumstances of the time and their role in Institutionalization in the political thought of Ayatollah Khamenei

Another factor that plays a role in Institutionalization is paying attention to the special circumstances and the needs of the society. In the political thought of Ayatollah Khamenei, Institutionalization and modernization in institutions considering the special circumstances have been heeded to. In Ayatollah Khamenei's opinion, depending on the particular circumstances, the type of institutions may change or a new form may be created according to the needs and particular conditions of the society (Statements, 16.10.2011). Furthermore, he also pays attention to the importance of Institutionalization based on the needs of the time emphasizing: "The Basij that was established in 1979 met the needs of that time. That was a need. Today, Basij meets other types of needs. The things that are at issue today were not so back then. Today, our Basij is in the forefront in science, innovation, and invention ... Today, we have issues in all areas that we did not have then. In those times, these scientific progresses did not exist ... Basij was a movement stemming from faith, from love, from self-confidence, and accompanied with innovation ... "(Statement, 14.10.2011). It can be said that the trend of emphasis on Institutionalization continues under the leadership of Ayatollah Khamenei on a different scale, compared with the first decade after the Revolution, according to the special circumstances and needs of the time.

2. The examples of Institutionalization in the practical conduct of Ayatollah Khamenei

Ayatollah Khamenei played a significant role in most processes of Institutionalization during

the leadership of Imam Khomeini (RA) as his disciple and aid. He played a major role in the decision-making and establishment of institutions such as representing Imam Khomeini (RA) in the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, opposition to the dissolution of the Army and trying to restore it, the Cultural Revolution in the universities and putting the Supreme Council in order, the presidency of the Expediency Council, and so on. (Ghaffari, 2017). However, what is discussed in the present research is the Institutionalization under his leadership. Therefore, in continuation of our answer to the third question of this research, some examples of Institutionalization in Ayatollah Khamenei's leadership style will be examined taking into consideration the parameters that influence Institutionalization, functions, and transience and permanence.

2.1. The examples of attending to the society's ideology and values and their role in Institutionalization in the leadership style of Ayatollah Khamenei

Given Ayatollah Khamenei's emphasis on Institutionalization on the basis of the society's ideology and values, some evidence regarding his Institutionalization is presented considering this parameter.

2.1.1. Cultural institutions:

The Foundation for Preservation of the Works and Values of the Holy Defense is a cultural institution that was established following the end of the war imposed by Saddam Hussein on Iran in order to preserve its achievements and protect the works produced during the years of the Holy Defense. In a letter to the headquarters of the armed forces in 1990, Ayatollah Khamenei emphasized "the necessity of preserving and protecting the works of the holy defense and publishing" them. Following this instruction, an institution titled "the Foundation for the Preservation and Publication of the Works of the Holy Defense" was established. "The purpose of the establishment of this institution is to record the immortal epics of the Islamic *Ummah* and its works in the cultural, political, social, economic and military aspects, and to prevent the destruction, distortion or oblivion of the precious heritage of the pure blood of the devotees to Islam and the achievements of the Holy Defense" (State Management and Planning Organization, 2001). The University of Islamic Denominations is another institution that was established in the field of culture. Imam Khomeini (RA) and Ayatollah Khamenei always emphasized the establishment of an institution based on the unity of the Islamic *Ummah*, the improvement and scientific-cultural growth and moral development of Muslims and the intellectual and scientific cooperation among them. The World Forum for Proximity of Islamic Schools of Thought was established by Ayatollah Khamenei with the same purpose (Islamic Revolution Document Center, 2008).

2.1.2. Other institutions:

The suggestion of the concept of Islamic civilization by Ayatollah Khamenei can be considered as originating from the society's ideology and values. Given the five stages of Islamic civilization including the Islamic revolution, the Islamic system, the Islamic state, the Islamic society, and ultimately the united *Ummah* or Islamic civilization, it can be said that Institutionalization based on the society's values and ideology is of particular importance in the process of Islamic civilization. Ayatollah Khamenei has paid attention to this important issue, and emphasized it, in a multitude of his speeches (*Statements*, 12.12.2001 and 02.12.2000 and 16.10.2011).

2.2. The examples of attending to the crises and the special circumstances of the time and its role in Institutionalization in the leadership style of Ayatollah Khamenei

Based on the theoretical foundations of crises, the special circumstances of the time are another factor that influences **Institutionalization**. The attention to this point can be seen in the practical conduct of Ayatollah Khamenei. The Institutionalization based on this feature can also be seen upon the study of Ayatollah Khamenei's practical conduct.

2.2.1. The political institutions:

The most important institution in this regard is the Strategic Council for Foreign Relations that was established by the direction of Ayatollah Khamenei. It is said about the process of the formation of this institution: "... The prominent personalities who have worked in the field of foreign relations for years shall gather in one place, think, help the governments, and increase each other's knowledge through interaction among themselves ... The "strategic" title was given to the council so the work of this council had solely a strategic character ... Finally the council was officially established in June 2006" (Interview with Dr. Kharrazi, 23.06.2014).

2.2.2. The judicial institutions:

The Supreme Board for the Resolution of Dispute among the Three Branches is one of the judicial institutions established by Ayatollah Khamenei. Following the uncovering of the President's disagreements with the heads of the legislature and the judiciary over various issues in the society and the emergence of dissatisfaction with the differences among the authorities, Ayatollah Khamenei ordered the formation of the Supreme Board for the Resolution of Disputes and Regulation of the Relations Among the Three Branches in 2011 in view of the leadership tasks including the resolution of disputes among the branches of government and also in order to investigate and present advisory opinions with regard to the cases of dispute resolution and regulation of relations among the three branches (*Edicts*, 25.07.2011). Before the establishment of this board, Imam Khomeini (RA) and Ayatollah Khamenei used to assign a trusted body to resolve disagreements in some cases. But it seems that with the establishment of this board, such disputes are dealt with in a permanent institution.

2.2.3. The economic institutions:

The proposal for creation of the World Gas Organization was set forth by Ayatollah Khamenei in a meeting with the secretary of the Russian Security Council of the time. Given the existence of half of the world's gas reserves in Iran and Russia, Ayatollah Khamenei suggested: "the two countries can, with the help of each other, put the foundation for a gas cooperation organization like OPEC" (Statement, 28.01.2007). Subsequently, the Russian authorities also offered this proposal to Qatar, which was another country with huge gas reserves, to be approved and accepted by Qatari officials. Finally, at the end of the meeting of the Gas Exporting Countries Forum, "a new organization was born today. The charter of this organization was agreed upon by all participating countries and it will be headquartered in Qatar" (Jam-e-Jam Online, 23.12.2008). This global organization is called the Gas Exporting Countries Forum (GECF). This institution is considered the second largest policy-making institution in the field of energy supply in the world after OPEC (Tasnim News Agency, 16.12.2014).

2.2.4. Scientific-cultural institutions:

Ayatollah Khamenei's most important action regards the establishment of scientific-cultural institutions. In this regard, he has created certain institutions with an emphasis on the role of

culture and universities. The Institution for Representation of the Supreme Leader in Universities is among these institutions. Upon the return of the intellectual current to the universities, extensive efforts were made to drive student groups towards the West's goals. Consequently, Ayatollah Khamenei took effective measures to neutralize the efforts of the enemies of the Islamic Revolution, including "his closer relations with academic environments and the consolidation of state's relationship with the institution of science and knowledge" (Karamaty, 2011). With an eye to this issue, the "Institution for Representation of the Jurist Leader in Universities" was founded in 1993 (Islamic Revolution Document Center, 2008). The Ahl al-Bayt World Assembly is one of the cultural institutions that was established at the request of Islamic scholars from Ayatollah Khamenei, and with his agreement. Following Ayatollah Khamenei's agreement with this request, ultimately, a number of Islamic scholars, thinkers, and religious figures registered, at several meetings, the Ahl al-Bayt World Assembly as a global and non-governmental organization in Iran (Islamic Revolution Document Center, 2008). "The World Forum for Proximity of Islamic Schools of Thought" is another scholarly institution that was established with an eye to the special circumstances and needs of the time. In view of the unifying thoughts of Imam Khomeini (RA), who considered the Islamic Revolution as belonging to all Muslims and oppressed people of the world, and also "based on the guidelines of Ayatollah Khamenei, The World Forum for Proximity of Islamic Schools of Thought was established in Tehran in 1990" (Taskhiri, 2005). Ayatollah Khamenei established the institutions of Ahl al-Bayt World Assembly and World Forum for Proximity of Islamic Schools of Thought with "the purpose of trying to educate and support those interested in the Household of Revelation, and the proximity and scholarly and practical synergy of the various denominations in the Muslim world" (Ghaffari, 2017).

Furthermore, one can also mention the material and spiritual support of Ayatollah Khamenei toward Institutionalization in the field of science with the establishment of the "Royan Institute". Ayatollah Khamenei's support in special circumstances, as well as for the scientific development, and meeting the needs, of the society in special circumstances led to the establishment of this institution (Ghaffari, 2017). In this regard, we can point to the Center for Handling the Mosques' Affairs of Tehran province. Following the victory of the Islamic Revolution, handling of mosques' affairs was assigned to institutions such as the Hajj, Awqaf, and Charity Affairs Organization, the Islamic Development Organization, and so on. This led to multiplicity in the management of mosques' affairs, especially in Tehran province. Therefore, frequent and numerous appeals and references were made to the officials in the field of management of mosques' affairs. Thus, the need for establishment of an institution for this purpose was felt. As a result, the Center for Handling the Mosques' Affairs was established in October 1989 on the order of Ayatollah Khamenei (Islamic Revolution Document Center, 2008: 297) and (Edicts, 22.10.1989).

The Supreme Council of, and the National Center for, Cyberspace and the Center for the Islamic-Iranian Model of Progress can also be mentioned with respect to the special circumstances and meeting the needs of the day. Nowadays, the cyberspace is one of the consequences of progress in the mass media. Therefore, in this context, the necessity of culture-making and monitoring the cyberspace is felt as one of the needs of the society. Accordingly, Ayatollah Khamenei was aware of this point and, in order to meet the needs of the society, established an institution in this field called the Supreme Council of Cyberspace

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(Edicts, 07.03.2012).

Given the importance of scientific and cultural progress with an emphasis on the Islamic and Iranian model, as an alternative to the Western model, the need for an institution to coordinate, plan, and formulate the model was felt. Therefore, based on an understanding of this need, Ayatollah Khamenei created the Center for the Islamic-Iranian Model of Progress on 23 May 2011 (Edicts, 23.05.2011). As a result, the Center for the Islamic-Iranian Model of Progress, under Ayatollah Khamenei's supervision, is a scientific and research institution that has a legal personality and financial, administrative, and employment independence and is governed by its charter. The chairman and members of the Center's Supreme Council are appointed by the edict of Ayatollah Khamenei for a three-year term (the website of the Center for the Islamic-Iranian Model of Progress, 2018).

CONCLUSION

This research is made in order to answer the question: How is Institutionalization and State-building in the leadership of the Islamic Republic of Iran? Therefore, we tried to explore and evaluate the Institutionalization in the leadership of Ayatollah Khamenei based on theoretical foundations. By exploring the speeches and statements of Ayatollah Khamenei, it can be understood that, with regard to Institutionalization, he paid attention to such issues as the society's ideology and values, crises, special circumstances, and the needs of the society. Also, by examining Ayatollah Khamenei's practical conduct, certain examples and evidence were presented to confirm the hypothesis of this research. By exploring these examples, it can be said that, in his practical conduct too, Ayatollah Khamenei set up institutions on the same basis. A study of his practical behavior shows that Ayatollah Khamenei established institutions in various political, economic, social, legislative, judicial, supervisory, scientific, and cultural fields on a permanent basis with a view to the society's values, crises, special circumstances and the needs of the society.

In Ayatollah Khamenei's view, the regard for religious democracy originates from the society's ideology and values. In general, he considers the ideology and values of the society as the basis of Institutionalization in the Islamic Republic of Iran. Therefore, he obviously paid attention to, and emphasized on, Institutionalization from below and acted accordingly. He also attaches importance to, and stresses, Institutionalization with a view to special circumstances and changing them proportionate to the needs of the society. The attention to, and emphasis on, Institutionalization in the leadership of Ayatollah Khamenei has prevented difference and dictatorship and ultimately led to unity, harmony, and solidarity in the society. It can be said that the principle of Institutionalization and legality is the opposite of "individual dictatorship". In an autocratic system, decision-making and implementation of policies are in the hands of powerful individuals or groups.

Therefore, besides the fading of the law in such states, institutions are also either worn out or superficial. However, in the Institutionalization model of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the creation and development of institutions and reliance on their role are observed in all stages of the system's establishment and consolidation (Ghaffari, 2017). Since Ayatollah Khamenei pays attention, in Institutionalization, to the values, ideology, conditions, and requirements of the Islamic society while emphasizing the establishment of institutions with Islamic content and

religious unity, it can be said that he has benefited from the style of Islamic leadership with respect to Institutionalization. It can also be observed that he has taken heed of two points of the values and the conditions and needs of the society at the same time as far as Institutionalization is concerned. Ayatollah Khamenei has paid more attention to the establishment of cultural institutions in order to consolidate the system of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Based on the examples and evidence that were mentioned above, it can be said that Ayatollah Khamenei has purposefully established institutions during the years of the system's consolidation. The said evidence was also presented to prove this very point. Therefore, Ayatollah Khamenei continued to establish state-building through institutionalization in various fields. Based on the findings of this study, the following conceptual model can be presented with regard to Institutionalization in Ayatollah Khamenei's leadership style.
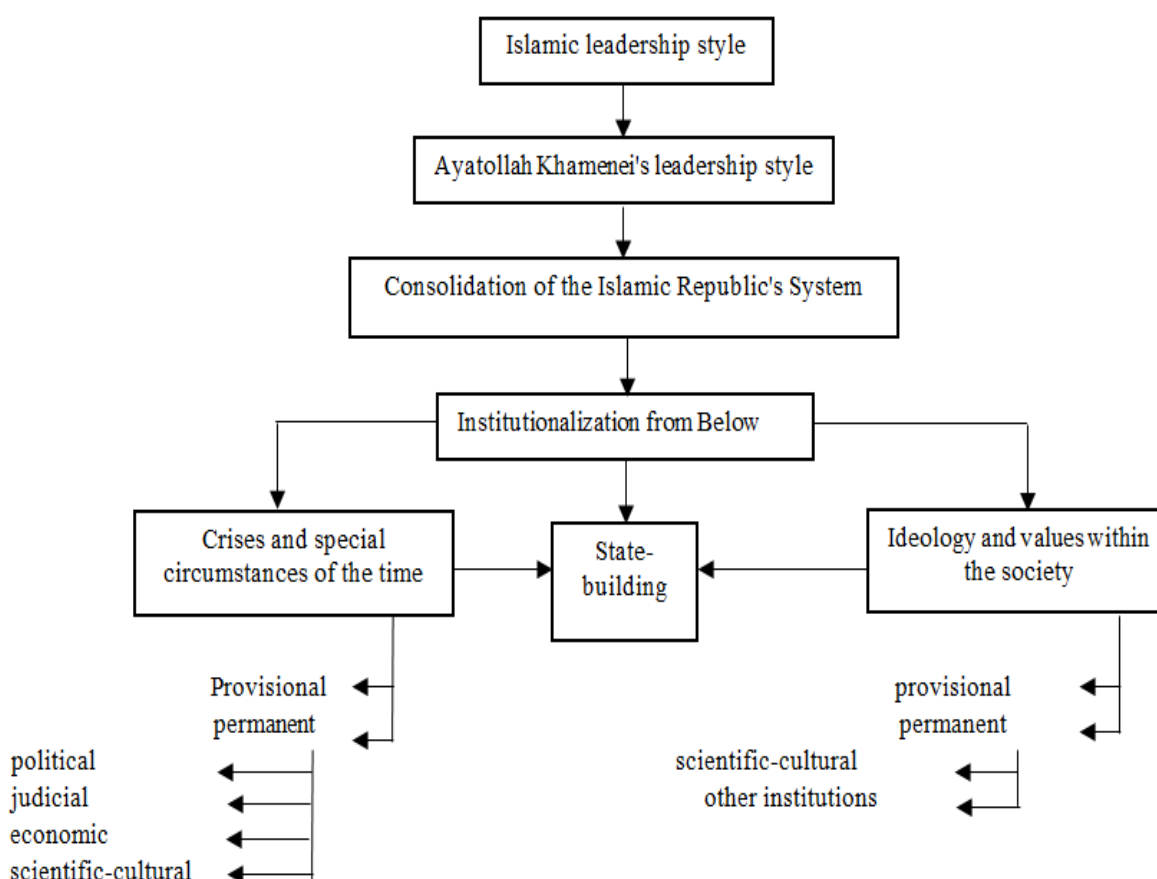

Diagram 1: Institutionalization and Stat-building in Ayatollah Khamenei's leadership style

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