


«مقاله پژوهشی»

## دولت دینی و مشارکت سیاسی؛ رهیافتی قرآنی به نظریه مشارکت سیاسی حداکثری مشروط (وا-کارگزارانه)

علی آقاجانی 

استادیار گروه علوم سیاسی پژوهشگاه حوزه و دانشگاه، قم، ایران.

نویسنده مسئول:

علی آقاجانی

رایانامه: [aqajani@rihu.ac.ir](mailto:aqajani@rihu.ac.ir)

تاریخ دریافت: ۱۴۰۲/۰۶/۲۱

تاریخ پذیرش: ۱۴۰۳/۰۸/۰۶

### استناد به این مقاله:

آقاجانی، علی (۱۴۰۳). دولت دینی و مشارکت سیاسی؛ رهیافتی قرآنی به نظریه مشارکت سیاسی حداکثری مشروط (وا-کارگزارانه). فصلنامه قرآن و روشنگری دینی، ۵(۲)، ۳۸-۱۷. (DOI: 10.30473/quran.2025.69214.1243)

### چکیده

پرسش اصلی مقاله آن است که در تفکر قرآنی چه رهیافتی از مشارکت سیاسی، رهیافت موجود یا مطلوب است. فرضیه پژوهش، با بهره‌گیری از الگوی جین‌همپتن در نظریه‌های دولت به‌عنوان چارچوب نظری بر آن است که در دولت‌دینی، مشارکت‌سیاسی و رقابت درون رژیم‌سیاسی نه علیه یا صرفاً برای آن است و در میان رهیافت‌های واگذارانه و کارگزارانه؛ رهیافت مطلوب قرآن به رهیافتی که می‌توان «حداکثری مشروط» یا وا-کارگزارانه نامید نزدیک‌تر است که در حدوث و بقای دولت‌دینی شرطیت دارد. مشارکتی که به‌صورت جزءالعله دارای اصالت است اما مشروط و مقید به برخی شروط و شرایط پیشینی است. رهیافت پژوهش در دو دسته آیات شورا و بیعت به‌طور صریح با برخی دیدگاه‌های دیگر تفسیری دارای تفاوت‌هایی است و در مرحله انتخاب رهبر با وجود پذیرش نص و نصب الهی اما برای مشارکت‌سیاسی مردم موضوعیت نیز قائل است. در پژوهش علاوه بر آیات شورا و بیعت آیات دیگری مانند آیات وفای به عقد، امر به معروف و نهی از منکر، خطابات عمومی قرآن، خلافت و امانت و... مورد نسبت سنجی با مشارکت سیاسی و-کارگزارانه قرار گرفته‌اند. بر این اساس حجیت عقد سیاسی میان حاکم و مردم، الزام نهاد شورا در عرصه عمومی، مشارکت‌سیاسی فعال به‌مثابه امر به معروف و نهی از منکر و دخالت در تعیین سرنوشت، حق انتخاب‌گری و گزینش عمومی مردم، خلافت نوعیه مشککه از خداوند در راستای حق مشارکت، و نیز حق وانهادن حکومت به شایستگان به‌مثابه امانت؛ از یافته‌های پژوهش به‌مثابه اجزا و ارکان رهیافت مشارکت‌سیاسی «حداکثری مشروط» (وا-کارگزارانه) است.

### واژه‌های کلیدی

دولت دینی، مشارکت سیاسی در قرآن، تفسیر سیاسی-موضوعی قرآن، مشارکت سیاسی حداکثری مشروط (وا-کارگزارانه)، مردم‌سالاری دینی.

## ORIGINAL ARTICLE

# Religious State and Political Participation; a Qur'anic Approach to the Theory of Conditional Maximal Political Participation (Delegative-Agential)

Ali Aqajani 

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Research Institute of Hawzah and University, Qom, Iran.

Correspondence  
Ali Aqajani  
Email: [aqajani@rihu.ac.ir](mailto:aqajani@rihu.ac.ir)

Received: 12 Sep 2023  
Accepted: 27 Oct 2024

### How to cite

Aqajani, A. (2025). Religious State and Political Participation; a Qur'anic Approach to the Theory of Conditional Maximal Political Participation (Delegative-Agential). *Quran and Religious Enlightenment*, 5(2), 17-38. (DOI:[10.30473/quran.2025.69214.1243](https://doi.org/10.30473/quran.2025.69214.1243))

## ABSTRACT

The main question of the article is what approach to political participation is the existing or desired approach in Qur'anic thought. The research hypothesis, using the Jane Hampton model in theories of the state as a theoretical framework, is that in religious state, political participation and competition within the political regime are not against or solely for it, and among the delegative and agential approaches; the desired approach of the Qur'an is closer to what can be called "conditional maximum" or de-agential approach, which is conditional in the emergence and survival of religious state; a participation that is original as a causal element but is conditional and bound to some prior conditions and circumstances. The research approach in the two categories of verses of Shūrā and Bay'ah clearly has some differences with some other interpretative perspectives, and in the stage of choosing a leader, despite accepting the divine text and appointment, it also considers the political participation of the people to be relevant. In the research, in addition to the verses of Shūrā and Bay'ah, other verses such as the verses of keeping the contract, enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong, public speeches of the Qur'an, caliphate and trust, etc. have been compared with political and agency participation. Accordingly, the validity of the political contract between the ruler and the people, the requirement of the Shūrā institution in the public arena, active political participation as enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong and interfering in determining destiny, the right to choose and general selection of the people, the caliphate as a kind of doubt from God in line with the right to participate, and also the right to leave the government to the worthy as a trust are among the findings of the research as components and pillars of the "Conditional Maximum" (delegative- Agential) political participation approach.

## KEYWORDS

Political Participation in the Qur'an, Political-Thematic Exegesis of the Qur'an, Conditional Maximal Political Participation (Delegative-Agential), Religious Democracy, Political Theology.



## Introduction

Political participation is one of the most important concepts and the most delicate political challenges in political science, which is considered a battle of opinions both in the field of theory and in practice in Iranian society and in the contemporary period, especially in the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and various views from different intellectual sources have been presented about it. Therefore, this discussion, as one of the important moments and sensitive bottlenecks, must be considered and examined from different aspects in order to separate the Qur'anic and Islamic approach to political participation from alternative approaches. This is while the main source of inspiration is the Holy Qur'an. Accordingly, examining the verses related to political participation and its related sub-sets can be effective in untangling theoretical and practical knots.

Political participation is focused on goals that, in the religious perspective, are comprehensive happiness, but below that, the efficiency of the political system, regularization of entry and presence in the political system, balanced and proportionate distribution of power, increasing trust between the state and the nation, and the realization of rights and the transfer of political and non-political demands to the political system are among its goals. All of these issues can be presented under the teachings of the Qur'an and are key objectives of the research.

Political participation is related to important theories, and these theories influence its theoretical and operational definition and narrow and expand its scope. Elitism theory limits and confines significant political participation to the elite and considers the masses to be largely inactive or tools of the elite; Pluralism Theory considers it the key to political behavior, because it is an important

factor in explaining the distribution of power and determining policies. Accordingly, there are various definitions of political participation (Fīrahī, 1998: 44; Muṣaffā, 1996: 9; Pai, 1991; Rash, 1998: 123); but Selected defines it as the active and often conscious participation of individuals in society, individually or collectively, in the public sphere and the process of social influence and the exercise of power, decision-making, decision-making and implementation in a supportive, supervisory and competitive manner. On this basis, firstly, most unconscious actions and passive actions are excluded. Also, desirable and ideal political participation from a religious perspective is an activity that considers the comprehensive material and spiritual well-being of society and is not reduced to a specific form and dimension of it, especially material well-being.

On this basis, the main question of the research is what the nature of political participation is and what approach to it is the desired approach of the Qur'an? The research hypothesis is that it seems that this concept is one of the concepts that has the ability to be measured in the Qur'an. Based on this capacity measurement and on the basis of the method of subject interpretation<sup>1</sup>, it can be said that from

---

1. The research uses the method of thematic ijtihad interpretation. From an angle, ijtihād interpretation can be divided into sequential ijtihad interpretation and thematic ijtihād interpretation. In thematic interpretation, ijtihād effort is made to explain a topic or a specific Qur'anic title with regard to different verses on that topic, narrations, interpretive techniques, and history, which is what the present research is in this category. Various definitions have been proposed regarding thematic interpretation. Sayyid Muhammad Bāqir Sadr, in explaining thematic interpretation, states that in this method, the interpreter does not examine the verses of the Qur'an verse by verse like an analysis, but rather, the interpreter tries to focus his research on a topic of life, ideology, or social issues or worldview that the Qur'an addresses, and explains, investigates, and studies it (Sadr, 1980: 12). Muhammad Hadi Marif also considers thematic interpretation to be a response to the issues raised; Of course, sometimes the question is from within the Qur'an and the answer is from within the Qur'an, and sometimes the question

the perspective of the Qur'an, the desired type of political participation is the conditional maximum (delegative- Agential), meaning that in terms of scope, participation in the political system is maximal but is conditional on political leadership with specific conditions.

## 1. Research Background

There are limited articles on political participation in the Qur'an; such as the article on the right of citizens to participate and political freedom with an emphasis on the Holy Qur'an (Sayyid Bagheri, 2018: 41-65) which has observed political participation and its role in freedom in three stages. Another article is Political Participation in the Islamic Utopia from the Perspective of the Qur'an and Hadiths (Yazdani, 2018: 48-73), which are directly related to the research topic. Also, parts of the book Government and Politics in the Qur'an (Qazi Zadeh, 2007) as well as parts of books on the Guardianship of the Jurisprudence or Islamic government. However, there is very limited independent work. The article on the analysis of the role of the Prophet in the development of the social system of Islamic societies (Mahmudi Raja, Damyar, 2018) is also indirectly related to the research topic and deals with the topic of participation and socio-political order using Giddens' theory.

In recent years, three books have been published that are most relevant to the research

topic. The book Political Participation in Shī'ī Political Jurisprudence (Izdehi, 2017) is the first and most serious in this field and provides a jurisprudential description of political participation under two legitimate and illegitimate political systems. The book Index of Political Participation in the Islamic Progress Model (Khulouisi, 2016) is another book that has been published. Another work is the book Strategies of Shī'ī Political Jurisprudence for the Development of Political Participation (Rahmani, 2015), which examines the patterns and strategies of political participation from the perspective of Shī'ī political jurisprudence. However, the Conditional Maximal (guardian-agent) approach to political participation, which suggests the two-sidedness of the structure and agent relationships, has a very limited history in a completely abstract and non- Qur'anic manner (Lakzayi, 2002: 135-160), which is discussed in detail in this research and also based on the Qur'an, and the concept of conditional maximization is outlined under it.

## 2. Theoretical Framework: Delegative-Agential Political Participation

This hybrid approach is derived from the literature on the origins of sovereignty theories. In general, two types of models can be discussed in political participation relations: the alienation model and the agency model, which are based on a social contract (Nuri and Tavassoli Rokn abadi, 2017), and Jane Hampton discusses and examines it in her theories of the state in the modern period (Hampton, 2001). These theories have two distinct faces and procedures regarding the nature and extent of the presence of the people and the ruler; the agency social contract and the alienation social contract, the latter of which is related to Thomas Hobbes (Hobbes, 2014) and

---

is taken from the context of the realities of life and social needs, and the answer is from the Qur'an. This is the second and correct way of questioning, which is based on the words of the Commander of the Faithful, "That is the Qur'an, so investigate it..." (Nahj al- Balāghah: 158) (Marwīyān, 2008). Various other definitions have also been made (Sobhānī, 2006, 1: 11. Muslim, 2000: 16). The author's definition of thematic interpretation using some perspectives (Jalīlī, 1993: 170) is as follows: "It is an inquisitorial effort to systematically understand the Qur'anic view in the light of a theory-based collection of verses about living scientific and theoretical issues and topics arising from human knowledge that are united in meaning and purpose, and it is expected that the Qur'an has a true word on the subject."

the former to John Locke (Locke, 2013). In the perspective of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), one can also see aspects of the fusion and dialectic of both aforementioned theories, although his speech is somewhat ambiguous and open to interpretation. Rousseau tries to bring together the individual and society and establishes the concept of general and universal will (Rousseau, 2009: 113).

Accordingly, in the theory of delegation, all authority is with the ruler and the state and is delegated to it absolutely. In the theory of agency, the source of all decisions is the desires and inclinations of the majority of the people, and the state is merely the agent of the general will. However, both theoretically and practically, it is possible to combine delegation and agency participation. This issue also exists in the theory of Islamic political participation. With the difference that divine right and divine lordship are also the source of the effect in the scene of participation, and God and His works and divine commands are not absent from the area of human political life; because in both theories of delegation and agency, the source of granting the right to rule is the people, not God. But this does not interfere with the article's borrowing of these two concepts in a theoretical framework; because the center of gravity is the self-assignment or non-assignment, regardless of its source. In the Shī'ī Islamic perspective, the theories of participation are different and different. However, in the theories of the guardianship of the jurist, two main views can be categorized. In the first view, which is the theory of the guardianship of the jurist, and the majority of jurists believe that the religious scholar has political guardianship and the public opinion is involved in the practical realization of the political guardianship of the jurists, but they are obliged to accept the orders of the scholars and obey them (Javadi Amoli,

2016: 189; Misbah Yazdi, 2002: 116-118). On this basis, since the transfer of guardianship from the infallible to the jurist is certain, political participation leads to external acceptance and realization.

The second theory, which is the minority view, is the theory of election or delegation, which rejects the evidence and proof of the first theory, stating that the authority is transferred to the people during the occultation, not the religious scholar, and he lacks political authority. Therefore, the authority in the occultation is for the people, who are delegated to the jurist, and the jurist is elected and dismissed by the people. In fact, the jurist is the representative of the people in exercising sovereignty. Of course, this view also has different versions (Salihi Najafabadi, 2001: 50; Montazeri, 1988: 2, 290). The third theory, which the research is inclined towards, is considered to be the result or average of the two theories of legal authority and delegation. In this sense, on the one hand, it considers the religious scholar as the deputy of the impeccable Imam (AS) and has authority (delegation), and on the other hand, in order for this authority to be implemented from a potential point of view and for the jurist to be able to exercise his authority, he needs the support of the members of society from a religious perspective (agency) and becomes conditional. In this theory, unlike the second theory, the jurist has guardianship, but the actuality of his guardianship is subject to and conditional on the acceptance, consent, and participation of the people as a part of the divine (Na'ini, 1999: 74-73, Imam Khomeini (Khomeini, 1990: 20, 171-170) also places him in this category with some details (Kavakebiyan, 1999. Arasta, 2005). Accordingly, political participation is maximal but conditional.

Based on this view, it is possible to mix and match guardian-centered political participation

with people (agent)-centered political participation. Combining verses such as obedience, priority, etc. with verses such as determination of destiny, council, uprising in equity, allegiance, etc., which are the result of combining divine lordship and human agency, constitutes a transferrable-agentive political participation in which the God-appointed guardian is present in a specific or general form; active popular participation and selected elites are also available under it.

In this respect, it seems that it can be said that the type of political participation in the Qur'an and Islam is theoretically transferable-agentive (guardian-agent), and on this basis, the research proposes a conditional maximum participation (Delegative-Agential), the dimensions and reasons of which are discussed in detail in the course of the research based on thematic interpretation. From here, it also becomes clear that the maximum clause refers to the agentive nature of such participation, which expresses the scope of the field of participation and the possibility and mobility of the people. The conditional clause also refers to its transferable part, which carries with it the prior conditions of a religious system and primarily refers to the specific characteristics of the rulers and leaders in the religious society, and secondly, the specific goals of the religious state and the legislative system.

### **3. Reasons for the Delegative-agential (Conditional Maximal) Political Participation in the Qur'an**

In the delegative-agential (conditional maximal) approach in the Qur'an, on the one hand, it leaves some of the scope of participation to the rulers or elites, and on the other hand, it is active in other areas. This approach in expanding political participation is similar to the approach of participation as legitimacy or absolute

maximum, and in granting political guardianship to jurists in the era of occultation, it is like an approach that, by emphasizing people-orientedness, grants political guardianship to the jurist and considers people's participation not as a condition but as a basis. Therefore, the agential approach pursues maximum political participation and does not see a conflict between the political guardianship of jurists and maximum political participation (Aqajani, 2017: 157). This approach also makes a difference in the interpretation of verses between the era of the Infallibles and the era of occultation. Of course, this theory can have different versions, which have been reflected in some works (Kavakebiyan, 1999; Araista, 2005; Eta'at, 2020; Marandi and Jalali Asl, 2021). Accordingly, we are seeking to explore the reasons for this approach in citing verses of the Qur'an and interpreting them thematically, and we will analyze the relevant verses based on the method of thematic interpretation.

#### **3.1. Shūrā Verses: (Shūrā: 38 and Āli 'Imrān: 159)**

*Shūrā* is one of the most important titles associated with political participation in Islamic political literature, which has various approaches to it. The relationship between council and political participation is particularly related to the role of the people in the decision-making process in the religious state. Of course, it is also effective in selecting a leader, especially in the era of occultation. Accordingly, considering the goals of council, it becomes clear that council in political participation has both subjectivity and path. Some have divided the council into three types: "Pre-government council, concurrent government council, and post-government council, which is a good division." However,

they have considered the Sharia council to be only in the post-government council and in cases where there is no statement from God and the Messenger (Araki, 2009). This shows that they have remained in an atmosphere of not distinguishing between the periods of presence and absence. In addition, this approach, which has a minimal and passive view of political participation, deprives the council of the final decision even in the post-government council and considers it to belong to the leader, whether infallible or not (Araki, 2009: 29).

In the political sense, the term council means the participation of the people of the community and their free presence and cooperation in consultation and discussion before making any decision or arrangement. In other words, "Consultation" guarantees the right of a group of individuals, including groups and minorities, to freely discuss and debate the arguments and arguments of all participants in the discussion (Shawi, 1994: 31), which in practice implies the need for rulers to pay attention to the advice of experts and the righteous and to participate in political affairs (Amin, 1997: 16), i.e. the right of the nation to political participation in government affairs and decision-making (Abdul Khaliq, 1998: 41).

### **A) The Difference between *Shūrā* and Consultation**

A point that is useful in processing the discussion and its relationship to political participation is to pay attention to the possible difference between *Shūrā* and consultation. Consultation covers issues in both the public and private spheres; while *Shūrā* is mainly a concept in the public sphere. The verses and narrations related to consultation mainly emphasize the personal channel and individual decision-making, but it should not be considered the same as *Shūrā*; as some other

scholars also hold this opinion (Shawi, 1994: 7). Various narrations about consultation are also mostly of the same nature; such as Imam Alī's consultation with Abdullah ibn Abbas about accepting the caliphate after the murder of 'Uthmān (Ṭabarī, 1988: 4, 406). Narrations that indicate consultation and then individual determination belong to this category. Such as a hadith from Imam *Riḍā* (AS) which states that the Messenger of Allah (PBUH) would consult his companions and then decide on what he wanted (Barqī, 1951: 2, 601; Ḥurr Āmilī, 1989: 12, 44). Such narrations (Ṣadūq, 1993: 4, 385; Fayḍ Kāshānī, 1986: 26, 233; Ḥurr Āmilī, 1989: 12, 46) also indicate consultation and advice and not *Shūrā*. In addition, in some narrations, *Yurīdullāh* is mentioned.

Such narrations emphasize the importance of individual and not institutional consultation. In individual consultation, the decision is made by the individual, but in institutional consultation, it is a collective decision, but its implementation is through the individual responsible. *Shūrā* is a social institution whose customary nature is based on collective decision-making regarding common interests, interests, and rights. *Shūrā*, in its customary and historical nature and practice, is more than mere consultation. In consultation, generally others are not interested in the matter. However, in *Shūrā* as a social institution, the participants in the council are considered interested.

Therefore, it seems that the phrase "And consult them in the matter" (*Shūrā*: 38) in the noble verse primarily indicates the institution of council and public participation. Likewise, the verse "And their matter was consultation among themselves" (Āli 'Imrān: 159) is true in its true sense and is not Makkī; because the matter refers to public, political, and social affairs. This issue is also strengthened by considering the background of the events of the

Battle of "*Uḥud*" and the choice of the method of confronting the polytheists through the *Shūrā*. Therefore, such a distinction can be shown at that time as well. Of course, in its procedures and mechanisms, it is natural that there are serious differences with today.

### **B) *Shūrā* Is a Concept of Signature, not Establishment**

Another point is that religious rulings and issues are either signature or establishment. The matter of consultation and consultation after *Shūrā* in political and governmental affairs has been prevalent in various societies for a long time. This was also the case in the society of Mecca and Medina. Specifically, in Mecca, *Qusay Ibn Kilāb*, the fourth grandfather of the Prophet Muhammad, after attaining the presidency, established a place for him to consult with the people and for the people to consult with him. This was also done in other tribes and cities. Accordingly, the Prophet's political action is based on the character of the wise and the social lifestyle approved by God, which establishes the rules of signature.

From this perspective, *Shūrā* has had a long history in the tribes and cities of the Arabian Peninsula, including Mecca. On this basis, perhaps *Qusay*'s most fundamental action in Mecca was the establishment of *Dār al-Nadwah*, which organized political positions and social affairs. *Dār al-Nadwah* was the place for discussion and decision-making on political, military, social and economic matters of Mecca, such as the *Khuzā'ah* and *Banī Hāshim* treaty (Ibn Sa'd, 2000: 1: 66; Ibn Ḥabīb, 1964: 89; Azraqī, 1989: 88). It provided the basis for the *Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl* treaty (Mas'ūdī, 1979: 3, 9). It was the decision of Quraysh to kill the Prophet (PBUH), which led to his migration on the night of the House of Prayer (Ibn Hishām,

1998: 2, 124; Ibn Sa'd, 2000: 1, 193-194).

On this basis, the council was a signed institution with a long history among the people of Mecca and Medina and most of the nations of that era, taking into account the specific differences of nations, which was based on rules in which, although the role of the leader and commander was prominent, it was ultimately a collective decision. This issue highlights its connection with the issue of political participation.

### **C) Argument for the Applicability of Verse 38 of Surah *Shūrā***

Argument for this verse in relation to the category of political participation requires proving some matters, including that it includes major government affairs. The verse indicates the construction of the news. There is no objection to prove its implication, and the advisors are the entire Islamic nation or the elite. In the verses of consultation, our approach to Conditional Maximal/Delegative-Agential participation is that a difference can or should be made between the period of the infallible and the period of presence and the period of occultation, and this period is outside the applicability and generality of consultation. In the election of the leader and his selection during the period of presence, the definitive texts remove it from the circle of majority vote and popular selection, which is beyond the scope of the subject and the scope of the discussion and is a presupposition of the issue. However, in the actions of the government, we believe in detail, which we will discuss in its place. Another point is that we are not trying to deny individual management, but rather in the need to pay attention to and give sufficient weight to the political and general participation of the people and the elite.



Verse 38 of the Qur'an is a statement of the characteristics of believers and in fact it seeks to mention the requirements and consequences of faith that, along with responding to God, performing prayers and spending money, consultation is also mentioned. Some have not considered this verse as a jurisprudential indication of the necessity of consultation (Hā'irī, 1994: 56) and some have considered it (Qarashī: 9, 498). However, regardless of the jurisprudential discussion, it is clear that the language of the verse is the language of necessity and necessity in Qur'anic literature. The matter in this verse covers all personal and social matters and issues. There are two views about the verse. Some consider it directly related to politics and the second view considers it unrelated to government affairs and believes that it does not directly indicate social and political issues. It seems that this verse, unlike verse 159 of *Āli 'Imrān*, primarily expresses the importance and necessity of consultation in the individual and social lives of individual believers and does not have a specific and specific indication of the political and social institution of the council; although it also observes it in a secondary and corresponding way. In any case, there is no doubt about the entry of social and political issues and how they are managed in the religious government or the believers, and both approaches include it and consider it part of the meaning of the verse. Another argument is that some believe that the verse does not have a subject matter for the infallible and only has a path (Sobhani, 2006: 2, 231-230), while even if consultation is a path, it does not interfere with our discussion of the necessity of political participation. Rather, it adds to the necessity because in this assumption, the infallible, although he does not need consultation and advice, considers himself obliged to it, therefore this is necessary and obligatory for non-

impeccable people in the first way.

Another objection to the verse is that the verse was revealed in Mecca and no social or political issue was raised. The answer is that although the verse is very likely Meccan, the meaning of the verse is not an external issue but a real issue. That is, it is in the capacity of expressing a real and general issue and does not have the status of a specific revelation. In Mecca, in addition to personal issues and circumstances, the Prophet's call also had a political and social burden. Accordingly, although it does not have an external primary implication for political affairs, it has a mandatory and general implication. Of course, it should be noted that some have also considered some verses of Surah *al-Shūrā*, including this verse, to be civil (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 1970: 18, 6).

Relying on the verse in the obligation or non-obligation of *Shūrā*: "An important issue in relation to political participation is what the principle of adhering to *Shūrā* is during presence and absence." Is it mandatory or non-mandatory? The participatory-agential approach and the research approach consider the formation of a council necessary in the era of presence and absence and believe that the literature of the verse is a literature of obligation, meaning that the verse calls the practice of believers in political affairs based on council. Of course, its quality and quantity are different; as commentators also hold this view. Although some of them have not considered following the council's decision as necessary for the infallible, they have considered referring to the council as necessary and obligatory. For example, the best hadith is that the sentence "And their affair is consultation between them" indicates the relevance of the council in Islam (Qarashī, 1992: 9, 498). The obligation to obey the leaders of authority does not prevent them from resorting

to the council in issuing orders. It can be said that consultation is a basic rule in all Muslim affairs unless there is a special reason; because even if the word "*Wa Amrahum*" does not have generality or specificity, its appearance in its title indicates generality, as some emphasize on this point (Faḍlullāh, 1998: 10, 191-192; Modarresi, 1998: 12, 365).

This is why some commentators (Ibn Āshūr, n.d.: 3, 269) emphasize not only the necessity of relying on the council during the occultation, but also point out its necessity and exclusivity in managing the community, and consider the council to consist of the learned, pious, and pious elite in matters where the community is confused or doubtful in determining the ruling or subject, or is in dispute over personal, social, political, and other matters. This is because they believe that any non-infallible believer is not absolute in knowledge and understanding, but is in need of the council. Of course, exclusivity in the council may not be correct, but in the larger dimension and in keeping the community together, it is certainly necessary; as others also believe in the necessity of the *Shūrā* for the Prophet in matters other than revelation and the command of Allah (Āmilī, 1981: 2, 257). Sunni commentators and jurists have also commented on its necessity (Ibn Āshūr, n.d.: 3, 269). In any case, consulting the ruler is necessary according to the provisions of the verse and the Qur'anic literature of the language, and from the point of view of jurisprudence, it is at least strongly recommended and at most obligatory. If the latter is not accepted, the former will manifest itself in a more powerful way and strengthen the scope of political participation.

#### **D) Arguing with the Contents of Verse 159 of Surah Āli 'Imrān**

Verse 159 of Surah *Āli 'Imrān* is the second

verse that is of great importance in the system of *Shūrā* and its relation to political participation. This verse was revealed about the Battle of *Uḥud* in the days after the end of the war (Ṭabarī, 1988: 2, 60). In this verse, despite the sad events of *Uḥud*, which reminded the minds of people, including the Prophet Muhammad, of the incorrectness of acting on the results of consultation and the collective wisdom derived from it, the Prophet's previous practice of consulting with people and involving them in political decisions, even if it had undesirable effects, is emphasized. In arguing with this verse, several questions must be answered and proven. Whether the meaning of the command includes means related to war or not; whether the command "*Shawurāhum*" indicates an obligation or is it recommended, which was discussed in the previous verse; is the address only addressed to the Prophet (PBUH) or is it not specific to him? There are various views in the interpretations and scholars in response to these questions. The verse is not specific to the Prophet. This is a matter that is almost unanimously agreed upon by all interpretations. The contemporary Sunni commentators, *Ibn Āshūr*, in *al-Taḥrīr wa al-Tanwīr*, have considered the Prophet to be responsible for the *Shūrā* (Ibn Āshūr, n.d.: 3, 268).

#### **E) Necessity/non-necessity of acting according to the opinion of the *Shūrā***

"The main point here is the issue of necessity or non-necessity of acting according to the opinion of the *Shūrā* and the result resulting from political participation. The approach of transference-agential participation, in short, believes in the necessity of acting according to the result of the *Shūrā* in the grand scheme of things and major affairs, and with a retrospective look at the period of the impeccable occultation,

it believes that this necessity may have been fulfilled during the time of the Infallible, at least after the Messenger and the Infallible had been persuaded, as some commentators have also said." (Faḍlullāh, 1998: 6, 347-344)

It is also possible to request a pardon, but if we do not accept the period of the presence of the infallible, there is no other excuse during the period of occultation. Thus, the phrase "If you resolve" indicates the determination of the Prophet and the leader of the religious community to act on the result of the council after consulting with the members of the council. In fact, from this perspective, "Determination" has a deleted object that can be "Determination on one opinion" or "Determination on implementing the opinion of the council." Since opposing the opinion of the majority of the council is a violation of the purpose, it actually leads to the necessity of acting on the result of the council. Of course, the opinion of the council is detailed and has various scenarios, but the necessity of acting at least includes the desire of the overwhelming majority, and the manifestation of such a desire usually and habitually convinces the infallible.

It is necessary to attach a car to the car if it is not necessary to have a different design for it.

This group considers the phrase "When you have decided, put your trust in God" to indicate the authority of the final decision. These interpretations, like the concepts of the Quran apparently extend this approach to the period of occultation (Subhānī, 2006: 2, 231-230).

Based on prior assumptions such as the infallibility and knowledge of the Imam, this view believes that the advice and consultation of the Prophet and the infallible were not real and had other purposes such as giving personality to the nation, advising to gain the approval of the people, etc.

In criticizing this view, several points are worth noting. First, the infallibility and

knowledge in all the details related to the daily affairs of the battlefield are ambiguous and may not be fully proven. An example of this is the Battle of "*Badr*" and the warning of "*Hubāb ibn Mundhir*" against choosing a place to camp and proposing another place and accepting the Messenger of Allāh (Ibn Sa'd, 1990: 3,427; Ṭabarī, 1988: 3, 960).

In the discussion of the Imam's knowledge, although there is consensus in its generality, there is still disagreement in the details, and perhaps it is not possible to extend knowledge to everyday matters forever and in all cases. Unless the Prophet and God will, and it is natural that in most cases matters are handled through normal channels. An example of this can be the Prophet's lack of initial knowledge of the lost camel during the Battle of "*Tabūk*." (Majlisī, 1990: 18, 109; Wāqidi, 1989: 3, 1010; Ibn Hishām, 1998: 4, 523)

The difference in pronouns, i.e. the plural pronoun in "*Shāwirhum*" and the singular pronoun in "*ʿAzamta*," does not imply an individual decision other than the council's opinion. Rather, since leadership and issuing orders are in any case with the infallible, such as the Prophet or non-infallible, and he must execute and communicate them to his subordinates, the determination is naturally attributed to him; because authority and execution are with him.

But even if we ignore these technical points, it still has no negative impact on our main discussion, which is maximum participation, and the emphasis is on it. Because it shows that the Prophet and the infallible, who is connected to the source of revelation and the unseen world, considers himself obliged to consult, consult, and intervene in the affairs of people with the opinions of experts and people, and acts according to appearances, and the Book of Revelation also emphasizes this.

On this basis, even if we believe that the consultation of the Holy Prophet was not to benefit from the thoughts of the people. Therefore, God left the right to make decisions only to that Prophet. We can consider the period of the infallible occultation as necessary and obligatory, or we can consider the detailed jurisprudential ruling of consultation in terms of the necessity and desirability of consultation between major and minor matters. And it was concluded that although the command in the verse mentioned is not understood as more than preference in general terms, since major affairs of the country cannot be arranged for non-infallible people without consultation, and "what is obligatory cannot be accomplished except by it, so it is obligatory" in such cases, consultation is obligatory; as the Tasnim commentary also holds this view (Javadi Amuli, 2009: 16, 134).

Based on this, the research view is that the verse, considering the context as a whole, indicates the necessity and necessity at least in the language of the Quran because avoiding major sins and performing prayers are among the obligations of the Islamic religion (Ākhūnd Khurāsānī: 1, 71; Šadr, 1997: 1, 269-272).

Although trust and charity have examples of obligatory and recommended, of course, in nominal sentences, the basis is on news, not construction, and the bearing on construction requires corroboration, but since the speech is from God and describes the characteristics of believers, it indicates the qualities that are necessary for faith and the believer is obliged to acquire them. This corroboration transforms the appearance of the speech from pure news to construction in the status of news. Similar arguments have been made by jurists in other cases.

The appearance of the noble verse indicates the obligation of the Prophet to consult, because

it has been proven in the discussions of principles that the appearance of the absolute form of the command indicates obligation unless there is evidence to the contrary. There is also no evidence of desirability, and we do not have any external evidence. On the contrary, the appearance of the command in those two sentences (*Fa'fu 'anhum wa Istaghfir Lahum*) indicates obligation. Since they are verbs of command and the command is also apparent in obligation, it must be said that these two sentences also indicate obligation; therefore, a valid proof must be presented to prove the desirability of forgiveness and seeking forgiveness, while no proof has been presented.

In addition, the Quran mentions many obligatory and recommended things in the context, such as: "Give of what is easy for you, and establish prayer, and give *Zakāh*, and lend to Allah a goodly loan." (al-Muzzammil: 20) Although reciting the Quran is recommended and performing prayer is obligatory, "And when you greet with a greeting, greet with a better one than it or return it" (al-Nisā: 86). Although returning a greeting is obligatory, returning a greeting in a better way (i.e. better than what the person greeting) is recommended.

The possibility that this verse is in the position of a prohibition illusion and the command after the prohibition or in the position of a prohibition illusion indicates non-necessity can be dismissed if the verse is separated from the story of *Uḥud* or if the fundamental argument that the command after the prohibition illusion does not indicate necessity is denied. Also, the Prophet's continuous life and his statements about the necessity of consultation support the verse's meaning.

Therefore, in the affairs of people and not the affairs of God, and in ordinary matters such as transactions and socializing, which are

permissible to do and permissible to abandon, and social matters that are based on people's discernment and their good judgment. From "If you decide" which is a branch of their consultation in the matter, it can be understood that when a decision is made in consultation to do something, you must decide and make a firm decision, and also do not allow yourself to doubt and rely on God, because after consultation and decision, matters and their implementation in any case go beyond the freedom and will of man and fall within the channel of God's will. Just as commentaries such as "In the Light of the Qur'an," (Taleqani, 1983: 5, 398) Roshan (Muṣṭafawī, 1981: 5, 116) and *Tafsir li kitāb Allah al-Munir* (Karami Huwayzi, 1982: 1, 56) have also interpreted and interpreted this way. Of course, the decision of the council can have various aspects, which include the necessity of at least a result leading to the persuasion of the Messenger.

Some hadiths (Barqī, 1951: 2, 601) also reinforce this view. The Prophet (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) was quoted as saying: "If your leaders are your best, your wealth your weakness, and your affairs are not a matter of consultation among you, then the surface of the earth is better for you than its interior." You have some of its backs (Tirmidhī, 1998: 3 and 361, Ibn Shu'bah, 1984: 36).

The way of the infallibles, especially the Prophet Muhammad, who was commissioned by God to consult with people, and therefore there are examples of his consultations, which were sometimes in the form of individual consultations and sometimes in groups, councils, or a group of advisors; consultation regarding the principle of the Battle of Badr, which, according to historical texts and reports, was in the form of councils or among the general public (Wāqidī, 1989: 1, 47, Ṭabarī, 1988: 2, 140-189). If, based on the first verses

of Surah *al-Anfāl*, the departure from Medina with the intention of war is attributed to God's order, there seem to be two answers.

Firstly, there is no historical record that the Prophet conveyed to the people God's decision and opinion to leave before the council and consultation, or that he said anything that indicated God's will to leave. However, there are historical texts regarding consultation and the formation of the council. Another thing is that the verse is related to the end of the war and the dispute over the spoils and it speaks of God's creative will through ordinary factors such as the agreement of the majority. As it refers to the opposition and aversion of a group of believers to leave, this is a historical matter. There are many such cases in the Qur'an, such as the verse "*Mā Ramayt idh Ramayt walākinna Allah Ramayt*". (*al-Anfāl*: 17) Therefore, the verse does not negate the decision-making council in this regard.

Consultation in choosing and determining the position of the battle with the companions in the form of a council (Ibn Hishām, 1998: 2, 258, Ṭabarī, 1988: 2, 200). Consultation with the elders of the companions and collectively about the prisoners of the Battle of *Badr* (Wāqidī, 1989: 3, 926), consultation in the Battle of *Uḥud* to leave Medina or stay there to confront the Meccan army (Wāqidī, 1989, vol. 1: 211) that the Prophet (PBUH) chose the opinion of the supporters of leaving Medina, who were in the majority (Wāqidī, 1989: 1, 209); consultation in the war of the parties on the quality of confrontation with the enemy (Ṭabarī, 1988: 2, 224) and the order to dig a trench (Wāqidī, 1989: 1, 444); consultation in the battles of *Banū Qurayzah* and *Banū Naḍīr* (Biyhaqī, 2003: 9, 218); in the story of peace with Quraysh in *Ḥudaybiyyah* (Ibn Kathīr, 1998: 1, 220); in the Battle of *Ṭā'if* (Ḥalabī, 2006: 3, 161) and the Battle of *Tabūk* (Ibn Rajab, 1997: 10, 82-83).

### 3.2. Verses of Caliphate (al-Baqarah: 30; Şād: 26)

One of the Qur'anic reasons for the Conditional Maximal political participation is the issue of human caliphate from God, which increases the length, breadth and depth of political participation and strengthens the foundation of participation. There are different views on the concept and instance of the caliph. In brief, there are two general approaches among contemporary interpretations: succession from predecessors and succession from God. In the second approach, three approaches can be identified: succession of perfect humans, succession of human species, and doubtful succession of species. The Conditional Maximal participation approach, in the perspective of research, believes that the human species represents God, of course, in a doubtful way, which broadens the scope of political participation and its context and facilitates intervention in political processes for people.

From the perspective of research, this view is closer to the right, because the angels object to the human species being the successor of God; otherwise the succession of previous generations or previous humans is not an issue that would provoke the angels' objection. Likewise, the fact that the sentence "Indeed, I will make you a caliph on earth" is a nominal and not a verb, and the fact that the adjective "Makes" is a form of the word "*Jā'il*" is a proof of the continued existence of the caliph of Allah. If the sentence were a verb, like the verse "O David, I will make you a caliph on earth," (Şād: 26) then it would be a personal and not a generic one, whereas the fact that it is a nominal in this verse indicates that the caliphate is a generic one; as the Tasnim commentary also has verses on this point (Javadi Amoli, 2009: 3, 37-36).

The theory of the caliphate is a questionable

generic one that focuses on Conditional Maximal political participation. According to which, a person has the right and freedom to choose political leaders, especially in the era of occultation, and he can choose from among qualified jurists or, in another version, qualified believers, and his consent and selection are the conditions for the legitimacy of exercising sovereignty. Also, on this basis, the active political participation of all members of society under the rule of the jurist is strengthened.

On this basis, entrusting the affairs of leadership and management of society to mankind in the light of divine rules and traditions can be understood from this verse because a human being who is the successor of God is obliged by his dignity to choose his own leader and political leader within the framework of religious rules in the absence of a designated caliph. As the concepts of the Qur'an, based on the argument from this verse, have concluded that man's sovereignty on earth is due to his successorship from God and have believed in popular sovereignty and have considered the verse as evidence for the intervention of the popular element in government (Sobhani, 2006: 2, 192-190). On this basis, the position of man as the divine caliph is not only related to creation and the revival and utilization of the earth, but also requires the permission of man to occupy social and governmental affairs. Accordingly, if the concept of caliphate is understood as the succession of God on earth and the mentioned verses, especially verse 30 of *al-Baqarah*, are seen as indicating the caliphate of man on earth, then there is a possibility that political and executive participation can be achieved from it. Because the prerequisite for the application of caliphate from God on earth is that man is permitted to possess the earth in a creative and legislative

way. Creative possession is with the revival and growth of the earth and legislative possession is with ruling the earth (Muntazeri, 1989: 1, 1-5). In another approximation, if caliphate is an attribute of the people or society, then these verses indicate that the leader is chosen through elections because the meaning of the caliphate of the general people is that they rule over themselves and there is no other way than elections. As *Sayyid Muhammad Bāqir Ṣadr* also believes that God has made man His caliph on earth and the administration of human society, politics and management of its affairs are among the duties of the divine caliphate of man. From his perspective, man has become the successor of God, the ruler of his own destiny, and the Holy Qur'an has introduced this caliphate as a divine trust (Ṣadr, 1980: 23-9).

On this basis, the Caliphate establishes and strengthens the proposition of human agency and authority as God's successor on earth for the selection of rulers, and especially serious participation in the structure of the religious government and under the leadership and in the position of decision-making and decision-making and selection of managers and participation in public legislation under the shadow of Sharia, and its questionability is focused on the effort of all humans to entrust sovereignty to those who possess the most divine attributes and divine and human qualifications in the macro and micro. Of course, this view is tied to the potential guardianship of jurists in the era of occultation in the desired approach of the research and operates maximally under it.

### 3.3. The Verse of Keeping the Contract (al-Mā'idah: 1)

One of the verses that proves the research hypothesis, namely political and executive participation, and can affect the scope of

political participation, is the verse of keeping the contract (O! You, who believe, fulfill the contracts). This means that if there is a written or oral agreement between the Imam of the community, especially during the era of occultation, which is according to the jurist's assumption, according to the provisions of this verse, keeping it is necessary and essential. In fact, whenever an agreement has been formed in advance between the Imam and the follower, the jurist and the community, it will be binding according to the noble verse and it will not be permissible to break it. On this basis, there is the possibility of conditional allegiance based on the agreement of the parties. Of course; the first question is whether there is the possibility of a political contract?

It seems that *Ba* means the order of the work, and *Alif* and *Lām* are the general gender and usefulness, and the meaning of the absolute contracts is the contract and includes all transactions between Muslims. It includes sale, peace, lease and even the initial conditions. It includes the contract between the creator and the creature, between the prophet and the nation, between the Imam and the subject, between the husband and the wife, and it also includes vows and covenants. Therefore, in some narrations it is interpreted as covenants, in some it is interpreted as the covenant of guardianship, and in some it is interpreted as allegiance, and all of these are expressions of examples and do not contradict the general and include everything that is considered in the custom of contracts and agreements and is proportional to loyalty. Of course, there are two views among commentators and jurists on this matter. One view believes that contracts have limitations and that deviation from them is not permissible, and that the verse of signing conventional contracts was in the early days of Islam and that new contracts require new legislation. Another view

is that the generality of the verse indicates its inclusion. It includes both conventional contracts in the past and new contracts, and even contracts that will be needed later. Since the signature of the verse is not a specific reason, the second opinion is more accurate and precise, because the developments and views of social life require new contracts that do not require special texts or being included under conventional legal titles for their legality. Only the limits of permissible and forbidden things must be observed. Some commentaries, especially *Min Wahy al-Qur'an* (Faḍlullāh, 1998: 8, 17-18), have also chosen the second opinion.

On this basis, arguing with this verse as a jurisprudential rule is not a reason to exclude divine covenants or issues related to the leadership and leadership of the nation that were taken from the nation by the Prophet. Accordingly, the choice of the nation for the ruler and the assignment of tasks to him and the acceptance of the ruler to carry out the tasks is a kind of contract and agreement between the nation and the ruler. Therefore, whatever indicates the validity and influence of contracts and their influence applies to its validity and influence. Whether it is based on reason or on the verse "*Ūfū bil 'Uqūd*" as some jurists have said (Muntazeri, 1988: 1, 575). For this reason and on this basis, it is clear that one can argue with the verse about the intervention of the people and their extensive qualitative participation under the general divine criteria and accept the possibility of a political contract between the jurist and the people within specific frameworks. This issue is even seen in the attitude of the founders of the Islamic Republic's constitution, such as Beheshti, who speaks of the lack of direct intervention by the leadership in all matters and that the leadership pursues some of its actions through predetermined channels (Islamic Consultative Assembly, 1985: 1686).

### 3.4. Verses of Enjoining Good and Forbidding Evil

Citing verses of enjoining good and forbidding evil can be another evidence for the hypothesis of research on Delegative-Agential political participation. The three verses 104 and 110 of *Āli 'Imrān* and 71 of *al-Tawbah* and other verses of enjoining good and forbidding evil are verses that address the people and call them to a political duty, hence they have a complete implication on the political participation of the general public. In addition, enjoining good and forbidding evil is not fundamentally a one-sided matter but is two-sided. On the other hand, the dimensions, levels and stages of enjoining good and forbidding evil that are mentioned in religious sources refer to the supervision and political participation of the people in various matters of society, that is, in the affairs of people or the correct implementation and execution of the command of Allah.

Enjoining good and forbidding evil is a result of the social responsibility of the people, and this responsibility creates for them the right to supervise; Because if enjoining what is good and forbidding what is evil were not a social responsibility based on a right commensurate with itself, that is, the right to supervise, it would not have been granted the honor of being issued, because right and responsibility are inseparable. If people in Islamic society did not have the authority to interfere in the public sphere and seize political destinies, they would never have been charged with such a serious duty. It is the right of other members of society that has placed the duty and responsibility of enjoining what is good and forbidding what is evil, or of giving advice and benevolence on our shoulders. If a Muslim does not fulfill his duty of advising or supervising other believers, especially advising or supervising leaders and



rulers, in fact, in addition to abandoning an obligatory duty, he has violated the rights of other members of society, and they can question him as to why he did not respect their rights and did not fulfill his duty. The public sphere is under the supervision of the entire Islamic nation, and the important function of enjoining what is good and forbidding what is evil is the health and reform of society.

The uprising of Imam *Husayn* (AS) was to enjoin good and forbid evil. Looking at the symbols of participation in Islam, we will see that political participation in Islam is of an active and competitive nature. Accordingly, the verses of enjoining good and forbidding evil strengthen the totality of political participation under religious rule and expand the power of action and maneuver of the people in the field of public affairs and the implementation and execution of divine affairs.

### 3.5. The Verse of Trust (al-Nisā: 58)

Qur'anic evidence is the verse of trust, and although the political interpretation of this verse is not very colorful among Shī'ī commentators and theologians, it does exist; as some have pointed out some aspects of it and its implication is complete political Delegative-Agential participation or conditional Maximal, as some commentators have argued (Sobhānī, 2006: 2, 197; 207-206).

The argument based on the verse is based on two premises. The first premise is that the meaning of trust is also political and social trust; because if it cannot include political positions and affairs, it will be fundamentally unarguable. While the implication of the verse is general and there is no reason to exclude political positions and affairs. Rather, there are narrative reasons. Accordingly, this attitude towards trust is also evident among the interpretations.

Thus, the trust is the rules, decrees, limits,

and the like, and their implementation is only possible with a religious government. That is, accepting religion and practicing it has components such as managing society, organizing its affairs and affairs, and establishing religion requires government. Accordingly, the addressee of the verse is the people and the believers, and the divine trust is the government of justice, which is a duty and responsibility and is at the disposal of the people, and they must and can entrust it to anyone who is qualified to assume it, including jurisprudence and justice, at their discretion, so that they can establish truth and justice.

From this, the second premise is that it is the addressee and responsibility and authority of the general public in fulfilling the political trust, that is, leadership, government, and governance, to the worthy and qualified individuals, in other words, to those who have the qualifications. Because the Holy Qur'an recognizes the ruler and supervisor of the community as the trustee and guardian of the community, and considers just government as a type of trust that has been entrusted to him and that he must fulfill.

On this basis, the formation of the state and the election of the ruler are the social rights of the nation, and the government is a trust with the ruler that has been given to him by the nation. And the source of the government is the people. Of course, the purpose of the people's rule is not to be under the sovereignty of God, but these two are of two types. One is an independent and inherent right, and the other is a subordinate and granted right. The hadiths also confirm this view; the hadiths that clarify or refer to the trust of the government with the ruler (Sobhani, 2006: 2, 207-206).

Accordingly, this verse addresses the people to fulfill the trust, and on the other hand, the trust is the government and the emirate, as the continuation of the verse also strengthens this

view. Therefore, the positive political participation is a Conditional Maximal (Delegative-Agential) during the time of occultation, when the instance is not clear and there is no text, and the people play a role in selecting the instance based on religious criteria and conditions from among those who meet the conditions.

### 3.6. Bay'ah Verses

These verses (al-Fath: 10; al-Fath: 18; al-Mumtaḥanah: 12) introduce the concept of *Bay'ah* in Islamic thought, which is a relevant and important concept in political participation. "*Bay'ah*" is a type of agreement that makes the one who swears allegiance obeys the one who is sworn to as much as possible. This word is derived from the word "*Bay'ah*," and since the Arab custom (and also in Iran) was that when they wanted to finalize a deal, they would shake hands with each other, therefore shaking hands with another person when giving obedience was called "*Mubāya'ah*" and "*Bay'ah*" (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 1995: 18, 409). Historically, Bay'ah had a serious precedent before Islam and is one of the cases that Islam has signed and is considered one of the signature rules and has two functions: confirmation and establishment, and has examples.

After Islam, the oath of allegiance to the tribe and the conversion of Muslims to Islam can be considered as a kind of oath. However, politically, the first official and noteworthy oath is the First Pledge of 'Aqabah, during which 12 people from *Yathrib* pledged allegiance to the Prophet. Although this oath is non-political in content, its meaning is political. The Second Pledge of 'Aqabah was more political than the First Pledge, during which 73 men and women from the people of *Yathrib* pledged allegiance to the Prophet to support him as their own children. Various other oaths of allegiance have

been recorded during the time of the Prophet, the most important of which are the Pledge of *Riḍwān*, the Pledge of the people of Mecca, and the Pledge of *Ghadīr*.

The challenge in the issue of allegiance (*Bay'ah*) is its connection with the issue of appointment. This has led many jurists to consider it a mere affirmation and devoid of active participatory significance. However, two points should be noted. First, a distinction should be made between the infallible Imam, for whom there are definitive texts, and the selection of a jurist from among the generally appointed jurists. The second point is that if the allegiance of *Riḍwān* can be called an affirmative allegiance, the allegiance of 'Aqabah especially the second Aqaba, can be considered an institutional allegiance, but not in the sense that the Prophet's guardianship and mission were established with it, but rather in the sense that this allegiance, along with the text and appointment, was part of the actualization of the Prophet's political emirate and guardianship in a specific demographic and geographical area called Medina; as Alī (AS) also cited the general allegiance of the people of Medina as an indicator of the validity of the allegiance in arguing with those who denied his infallibility and complete guardianship. Accordingly, the validity of the oath of allegiance, as it was accompanied by "Buts" and "Ifs" during the time of the infallibles, has sufficient validity during the time of occultation based on the theory of Conditional Maximal participation when determining the leader of the jurist from among the jurists. Accordingly, the desired perspective of the research is based on a theory that considers the role of people's participation as a part of the cause alongside divine appointment.

Several narrations of Alī's (AS) words in *Nahj al-Balāghah* (sayyid Raḍī, 1994: 268; Nahj

al-Balāghah: 16; Nahj al-Balāghah; Letter 6, p. 312; Nahj al-Balāghah, Sermon 173) and others (Ibn Athīr, 1966: 3, 193; Nūrī, 1988: 11, 78). Also, the Messenger of God (Majlisī, 1990: 40, 78; Tūsī, 1994: 560) and other Shī'ī Imams clearly indicate the importance, necessity and validity of the pledge of allegiance and leave no room for denial or justification. These narrations in themselves demonstrate the effectiveness of political participation (Arasta, 2001). This is while some other theories (Mu'min Qummī, 2007: 51, 34-61) consider such narrations as unsubstantiated in the broad role of the people and consider them as a matter of the silence of the enemy or *Taqīyyah*, which of course also indicates the importance of the people's political participation and can be relied upon. However, it seems that we should add together these narrations and the evidence of the installation, the sum of which is conditional on maximum participation. Accordingly, we consider the evidence of the infallible installation during the time of presence to be complete and the evidence of the potential installation of a jurist during the time of absence to be strong and have priority. Considering the abundance and strength of these narrations and the actions in accordance with them in the Imams' lives, reducing it to the silence of the enemy may be contrary to appearances.

### 3.7. The Verse of Destiny (al-Ra'd: 11)

The eleventh verse of Surah *al-Ra'd* is also one of the verses that establishes the necessity of political participation in various forms of support, supervision, etc. in a legitimate or illegitimate system. One of the clear implications of the eleventh verse of Surah *al-Ra'd* (Indeed, Allah does not change what is in a people until they change what is in themselves) is collective will and public participation in determining the fate of society. One of the first concepts that indicates

the presence of people in Islamic texts is "Collective will". The collective will of humans can be inferred from the verse. In this verse, collective will is presented as an independent factor in the length and not the width of God's will. It is on this basis that the Qur'an emphasizes the active political participation of individuals in society for the good and considers any change and transformation of the collective destiny of man to be tied to change and transformation, effort and efforts, and presence in the scenes of political movement. The presence of the word "Nation" indicates that the main purpose of the verse is not individual change, but collective social change.

On this basis, when the Qur'an speaks of the longitudinal will of man and his collective political participation in the destiny and changes of the socio-political destiny in line with the divine will and gives it subjectivity, it has in fact accepted it as a true pillar. Hence, the right to choose and adapt to the general divine Islamic conditions in the political scene belongs to him, whose benefit and harm reach him as a social whole. Therefore, the verse can imply a Conditional Maximal (delegative-agential) political participation.

### 3.8. Verses Indicating the Attention of the People to the Public Duties

From the totality of the verses containing the social duties of the people, it is clear that the formation of a government is necessary as a prerequisite for all Muslims. Therefore, if the people intend to form a government to fulfill their social duties, they have the right to elect a qualified person as the ruler. Because it is not logical and reasonable for the people to be obligated to social duties by the lawgiver, but not to have any right to intervene and express opinions in order to create the prerequisites and provide the grounds for performing those duties.

## Conclusion

This article analyzes the verses about political participation in the Qur'an, and in addition, it refers to the hadith, history, approaches and opinions of interpretations and rational reasons based on thematic interpretation. The research seeks to prove and strengthen the approach of political delegative-agential participation or Conditional Maximal political participation using the model of the social contract of assignment and agency and combining and merging them with interventions and occupations that, despite the differences that do not harm our adaptation. From the research point of view, this approach is the desired approach in interpreting political participation in the Qur'an in a way that, while not ignoring the historical Shī'ī perspective, it opens the field of presence and maneuver of the popular will to the fullest extent possible and depicts a clear and broad horizon in the field of political participation within the framework of prior conditions and conditions.

Therefore, the research approach in two groups of verses, namely the verses of the council and the verses of the oath, clearly differs from some other interpretative perspectives. The delegative-agential approach (Conditional Maximal) in the stage of selecting a leader, despite accepting the divine text and appointment, also considers the political participation of the people to be relevant. Based on the verses of the council, consulting with the people or their representatives is not considered a decorative and marginal matter. Both consultations are necessary and commitment to consultation and the result that arises from consultation is, in essence, necessary; because the very formation of the council by the infallible shows the impeccable's prior commitment to its results. At least in cases where there is a decisive majority about an

opinion and it convinces the infallible. Of course, in the case of the infallible and the infallible Imam, if there is any doubt about the commitment to the result of consultation or there are reasons that undermine it, in the case of non-infallibles, such reasons do not exist and adherence to the result of consultation is certain, at least in major matters. On this basis, in the era of occultation, public political participation and consultation with the people are mandatory both in the selection of the leader and in the course of political decisions.

Another challenging point is the attitude towards the concept of allegiance, which is mentioned in several verses of the Qur'an. The preferred approach to the study considers allegiance to be semi-established in nature. On this basis, in the era of occultation, the text and legitimacy of the leadership of the jurist are potential, which require allegiance to be transformed into actuality. Even if it is true, reducing the words of the Prophet to a debate shows that the Prophet behaved in this way in practice and did not behave otherwise, and he prescribed and gave authority to this procedure in public reasoning. In addition, this issue is much stronger in non-infallible people. The sides of this theory are gathered from the verses of the council, the verses of commanding good, the verses of allegiance, and the verse of fulfilling the contract, the verse of trust, the verse of dignity, and the verses of public speeches of the Qur'an and are articulated under the Conditional Maximal political participation.

## Sources

*Holy Qur'an*

*Nahj al-Balāghah*

Abd-al Khāliq, F. (1998). *Fī al-Fiqh al-Sīyāsī al-Islamī*. Cairo: Dār al-Shurūq.

Alidūst, A. (2010). "Scope of Sharia." *Qabasāt*. No. 32.

‘Āmilī, I. (1981). *Tafsīr al-‘Āmilī*. Tehrān: Sadūq.

Aqajani, A. (2012). "A Reflection on the Political Concept of Caliphate in the Qur'an (with Emphasis on Contemporary Shī'ī Interpretations and the Questionable Type of Caliphate)". *Transcendental Politics*. Vol. 10, no. 39, pp. 7-26.

Aqajani, A. (2019). *The Impact of Political Theology Controversies on Political Competitions in the Islamic Republic*. Qom: Institute of Islamic Sciences and Culture.

Araki, M. (2009). "The Place of the Shūrā in the Selection of an Islamic Ruler." *Islamic State*. Vol. 14, no. 2.

Arasta, M; Sheikh al-Mulūk, M. (2016). "Rational Evidence for the Necessity of Consultation in Islamic Government with an Approach to the Life of Imam Khomeini." *Matin Journal*. Vol. 18, no. 73.

Arasta, M. (2005). "People and the Formation of the Islamic Government." *Islamic Revolution Studies*. No. 2.

Arasta, M. (2000). "Concern for Public Opinion and People's Views from the Perspective of Alī (AS)." *Islamic Government Quarterly*. No. 17, pp. 110-128.

Azraqī, M. (2009). *News of Mecca and What Came in It from the Monuments*. (Rushdi al-Saleh Malhas. Res; Mahdavi Damghani, M. Trans). Tehran: Foundation.

Barqī, A. (1951). *al-Maḥāsīn*. Qom: Dār Al-Kutbah Al-Islamiyya. 2nd edition.

Bayhaqī, A. (2003). *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*. (Atta, M. Res). Beirut: Dār Al-Kutob Al-‘Ilmiyyah.

Fayḍ Kāshānī, M. (1986). *al-Wāfī*. Isfahan: Library of Imam Amīr al-Mu'minīn Alī (AS).

Faḍlullāh, M. (1998). *From the Revelation of the Qur'an*. Beirut: Dār al-Malak Printing and Publishing House.

Fīrahī, D. (1998). "The Concept of Political Participation." *Political Science Quarterly*. Vol. 1, no. 1.

Ḥakīm, M. (2009). *‘Ulūm al-Qur'an*. (Lisani Fasharaki, M. Trans). Tehran: Tibyan.

Ḥalabī, A. (1999). *al-Sīrah al-Ḥalabīyyah*. (Khalīlī, A. Rev). Beirut: Dār al-Kutob al-‘Ilmiyyah, Muhammad Alī Baydoon Publications.

Hampton, J. (2001). *Political Philosophy*. (Dehimi, Kh. Trans). Tehran: New Plan.

Hobbes, T. (2014). *Leviathan*. (Bashiriyyah, H.

Trans). Tehran: Ney Publishing House.

Hoseini Hamedani, M. (1999). *Bright lights*. Tehran: Lotfi Bookstore.

Ḥurr ‘Āmilī, M. (1999). *Wasā'il al-Shi'ah*. Qom: Āl al-Bayt Foundation.

Ibn ‘Āshūr, M. (n.d.). *al-Taḥrīr wa al-Tanwīr*. Cairo: N.n.

Ibn Athīr, A. (1966). *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārikh*. Beirut: Dār Sādīr.

Ibn Ḥabīb. (1964). *al-Munammaq fī Akhbāre Quraysh*. Hyderabad-Deccan: Khurshid Ahmad Farooq.

Ibn Hishām. (1998). *Sīrah al-Nabawīyyah*. 6th edition. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Arabī.

Ibn Kathīr, I. (1998). *Tafsīr al-Qur'an al-‘Azīm*. (Shamsuddin, M. Res). Beirut: Dār al-Kutub Al-Elamiyyah, pamphlets of Muhammad Alī Beizun.

Ibn Rajab, A. (1997). *Fath al-Bārī fī Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. (A group of scholars, Res). Medina: Maktaba al-Gharba al-Asrīyyah.

Ibn Sa'd, M. (1999). *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*. (Mahdavi Damghani, M. Trans). Tehran: Farhang Andisheh.

Khomeini, R. (2009). *Saḥīfah Noor*. Tehran: Islamic Revolution Cultural Documents Organization.

Amin, A. (1997). *Muslim Pioneers in the New Era*. (Yousefi Ashkewari, H. Trans). Tehran: Scientific and Cultural Publications.

Izdehi, S. (2017). *Political Participation in Shī'ī Political Jurisprudence*. Tehran: Publications of the Institute of Culture and Thought.

Jalili, H. (1993). *Methodology of Thematic Interpretations of the Qur'an*. Tehran: Kavir Publications.

Javadi Amoli, A. (2009). *Tasnim Interpretation*. (Abedini, A. Res). Qom: Isra.

Javadi Amoli, A. (2016). *Velayat-e Faqih and Justice*. Qom: Isra.

Karami Howeyzi, M. (1999). *Tafsīr al-Munīr*. Qom: Ilmiyyah.

Kawakibiyan, M. (1999). *The Principles of Legitimacy in the System of the Guardianship of the Faqih*, Tehran: Oruj Publishing.

Khulusi, M. (2016). *Political Participation Index in the Islamic Progress Model*. Qom: Imam Khomeyni Educational and Research Institute.

Lak zayi, Sh. (2002). "The Model of Political Participation in the Theories of the Guardianship of the Faqih." *Journal of Political Sciences*. No. 20. Winter.

Locke, J. (2013). *Two Treatises on Government*. (Shariat, F. Trans). Tehran: Negahe Mo'aser.

Mahmoudi Raja, Zā; Damyar, A; Damyar, S. (2018). "Analyzing the Role of the Prophet in the Development of the Social System of Islamic Societies." *Islamic Social Research*. Vol. 24, no.

- 116, pp. 123-146.
- Majlisī, M. (1983). *Biḥār al-Anwār al-Jāmi'ah li-Durar Akhbār al-'Immah al-Aṭḥār*. Beirut: Dār al-Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī.
- Makarem Shirazi, N. (2007). *The Message of the Qur'an*. Tehran: Dār al-Kuttub al-Islamiyya.
- Marandii, A. (1998). *Dalā'il Barāhīn al-Furqān*. (Published in Rasael al-Musharrahitit, with the help of Gholamhossein Zargarinejad) Tehran: Kavir.
- Marviyan, M. (2008). "Methodology of Subjective Interpretation from the Perspective of Ayatollah Marefat." in *Qur'anic Merfat: Memoir of Ayatollah Mohammad Hadi Marefat*. under the supervision of the Qur'anic Studies Group of the Research Institute with the help of: Nasiri, Alī. Tehran: Publication Organization of the Research Institute of Islamic Culture and Thought, first edition.
- Mas'ūdī, A. (1965-1979). *The Promoter of Gold and Minerals*. Beirut: Charles Pella.
- Montazeri, H. (1998). *Studies in the Will of the Faqih and the Jurisprudence of the Islamic State*. Qom: The World Center for Islamic Studies and the Dār al-Fikr.
- Mostafavi, H. (1981). *Investigation of the Words of the Holy Qur'an*. Tehran: Book Translation and Publishing House.
- Motahari, M. (1999). *Collection of Works of Professor Shahid Motahari*. Qom: Sadra.
- Mudarrisi, M. (1998). *Min Hudā al-Qur'ān*. Tehran: Muḥibi al Husayn.
- Mu'min Qummī, M. (2007). "Bay'ah(1): Arguments for Bay'at in the Qur'an." *Ahl al-Bayt Fiqh Magazine*. Autumn. No. 51, pp. 34-61.
- Musaffa, N. (1996). *Women's Political Participation in Iran*. Tehran: Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- Nāṭnī. M. (2009). *Tanbīh al-Ummah and Tanzīh al-Mullah*. Tehran: Sahamī Publishing Company.
- Nūrī, H. (1987 AD/1408 AH). *Mustadrak al-Wasā'il wa Mustanbat al-Masā'il*. 18 volumes. Beirut: Ahl al-Bayt Foundation, peace be upon them.
- Nūrī, M; Tavassoli Rokn Abadi, M. (2017). "Comparative Study of the Thoughts of Hobbes, Locke and Rawls in the Light of the Hypothetical Situation of the Social Contract." *Theoretical Politics Research*. Autumn and Winter. No. 22.
- Pai, L. (1991), "Political Culture and Political Development." (Mohammadi, M. Trans). *Nameh Farhang*. Fall and Winter. Vol. 2, no. 5 and 6.
- Qazizadeh, K. (2007). *Politics and Government in the Qur'an*. Tehran: Research Institute of Islamic Culture and Thought, Third Edition.
- Qarashī, A. (1992). *The Qur'anic Dictionary*. Tehran: Dār al-Kuttub al-Islamiyyah, 6th edition.
- Rahmani, N. (2015). *Strategies of Shī'ī Political Jurisprudence for the Expansion of Political Participation*. Qom: Al-Mustafa Publishing.
- Rousseau, J. (2009). *The Social Contract (Text and Context)*. (Kalantrian, M. Trans). Tehran: Agah Publications.
- Rush, M. (2004). *Society and Politics*. (Sabouri, M. Trans). Tehran: Samt.
- Sadr, M. (1980). *al-Madrasah al-Qur'aniyah*. N.p.: N.n.
- Sadr, M. (1997). *Research in the Science of Fundamentals*. Qom: Islamic Jurisprudence Education Center.
- Sadūq, M. (1993). *Man lā Yaḥḍuruh al-Faqīh*. Qom: Islamic Publishing Office affiliated with the Qom Seminary Teachers' Association.
- Salehi Najafabadi. N. (2001). *Velayat-e Faqih of the Righteous Government*. Tehran: Kavir.
- Sayyid Raḍī, M. (1994). *Nahj-al- Balāghah*. Qom: Nahj-al- Balāghah Institute.
- Sayyid Baqeri, K. (2018). "The Right to Citizen Participation and Political Freedom with Emphasis on the Holy Qur'an." *Islamic Political Research*. Vol. 6, no. 14, pp. 41-65.
- Shawi, M. (1994). *Shūrā, the Highest Levels of Democracy*. Cairo: Al-Zahra La'alam Al-Arabi.
- Sobhani, J. (2006). *Concepts of the Qur'an*. Qom: Imam Sadiq (AS) Institute.
- Ṭabarī, M. (1988). *Tarikh al- Ṭabarī*. Beirut: Dār al-Kitab al-Ilmiyah.
- Ṭabrisī, A. (1983). *al-Ihtijāj*. 2 volumes. Mashhad: Mortada Publication Office.
- Ṭabāṭabā'ī, M. (1995). *al-Mīzān*. (Mousavi Hamedani, M. Trans). Qom: Islamic Publishing Office.
- Tabrīzī, M. (1998). *Kashf al-Murād*. (Published in Rasa'al-Musharoodit by the efforts of Gholam Hussein Zargarinejad). 2nd edition. Tehran: Kavir.
- Taleghani, M. (1983). *A Ray from the Quran*. Tehran: Joint Publication Company.
- The Islamic Consultative Assembly. (1985). *Detailed Report of the Negotiations of the Assembly for the Final Review of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran*. (Volume 3). Tehran: Public Relations of the Islamic Consultative Assembly.
- Tirmidhī, M. (1998). *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*. (Shākir, A. Res). Cairo: Dār Al-Hadīth.
- Ṭūsī, A. (1994). *al-Amālī*. Qom: Dār al-Thaqafa.
- Wāqidi, M. (1988). *al-Maghāzī*. (Marsden Jones, Ed). Beirut: Al-Alami Foundation, Third Edition.
- Yazdani, H. (2018). "Political Participation in an Islamic Utopia from the Perspective of the Qur'an and Hadiths." *Journal of Islamic Education and Political Science*. Vol. 2, no. 16.
- Ziyayifar, S. (2003). *The Place of Theological Principles in Ijtihad*. Qom: Boostan Kitab.