

Analyzing Formation of Regional Integration based on Constructivism School (A Case Study on Persian Gulf Region: Possibility or Impossibility)

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Abstract

The constructivism school as a meta-theory of international relations with concentration on the ontological and epistemological discussions tries to set the backstage for the ideas and consciousness for the actors of international relation by means of mutual interactions with the emphasis on the significance of people and groups, and on creation of mutual concepts and interests for understanding the identities, interests, institutions, perceptions, and their understanding about the international behavior. In fact, constructivism makes the integration possible with the emphasis on the relationship between the materialized interdependence and the understanding of identity and society by bringing about the intersubjective and structural understanding of the belonging sense to a specific regional society and by creating the background for changing the interests and identities. In this vein, to what extent Persian Gulf region, in which the disintegration factors rather than integration factors can make difficult the accessibility to the integration, can utilize the constructivism to access the regional integration. By surveying the components and the capacity of effectiveness of constructivism by creating mutual concepts and perceptions about identity, interests, security, regionalism in the Persian Gulf region, therefore, it can be concluded that the constructivism can fade the disintegrational factors to prepare the regional integration backgrounds in the region of Persian Gulf.

Keywords: Persian Gulf, Persian Gulf Region, Constructivism, Integration, Regional Integration.

Introduction

As a meta-theory attitude for the international relations and as emphasizing the social structure of a reality, the constructivism sees that all human-related actions form and become meaningful in the space of society. This meaning can form the world facts. (Mahpishanian, 1390/2011: 47) In Fact, the constructivism school as a mediating viewpoint between two materialized viewpoint (social existences such as structures and actions, both performance-related and existence-related, are available independent of perceptions and understanding of human being and the observable material facts comprise the most fundamental fact in the studies) and idealistic viewpoint (existence, institutions, and brokers have a mental or at least discursal aspect and do not have any structure but understating the things for people) believes that the meaning-related structures and material structures as well have to be taken into consideration when studying the social phenomena. (Moshirzadeh, 1383/2004: 116) Thus, the constructivism can be theoretically put in the mean between naturalists/positivists on the one hand and poststructuralists on the other hand. (Moshirzadeh, 1383/2004: 115) With the emphasis on the people and groups and creating mutual concepts and interests to recognize the identities, interests, institutions and anarchy in the international system, this school considers their perceptions and understandings of the international behavior as a basis for the ideas and consciousness among the actors of international relations by means of mutual interactions and believes that identities and interests of the governments are created by means of norms, interactions and cultures. Therefore, the realization of integration is possible in the framework of this school because it emphasize the relationship between the materialized mutual dependence and the understanding of identity and society by creating an understanding of intersubjective structure of belonging sense to a specific regional community and by creating the basis for changing the interests and identities.

In this vein, the Persian Gulf region does not proceed any significant development per se because the marked disintegrational factors have been encountered so many problems rather than the integrational factors. An incomplete development has been between Iran and Iraq in the name of “Persian Gulf Cooperation Council”. So, investigating the possibility extent of accessibility to the integration in the Persian Gulf region based on the constructivism school is a question tried to be answered.

To answer the above-mentioned question, we analyze the issue of integration in the Persian Gulf region through the security theory of constructivism. First, the concepts such as integration, the understanding of international policy about it in the title of “regional integration” are explicated. Then, the extent of relationship of this school with the integration has been surveyed based on the components of constructivism such as identity, interests, anarchy and institutions. By determining and analyzing the components of constructivism such as identity, interests, security and regionalism in the assumed region, it can be finally stated that the constructivism can provide the regional integration grounds in the Persian Gulf region by omitting the disintegrational factors.

1. Concept of Integration: From Integration to Regional Integration

Integration is in versus of disintegration. It is the process which the governments or the political units overlook voluntarily or consciously a part of their power for accessing their mutual aims and follow an ultra-national power. (Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, 1372/1993: 664) Based on this, the integration can be best analyzed as a process that should be dynamic and in regard to increasing the cooperation between the governments. In fact, the gradual procedure

of power delegation to the ultra-national institutions is a step toward assimilating the values and ultimately providing the necessary backgrounds in order to create a global civil society and new forms of political community. (Ghavam, 1384/2005: 44) In this vein, the essence of integration and its definitions represents this fact that although there were some efforts to study integration as a multidimensional phenomenon especially in the 1970s and the integration theory had been widely and quantitatively analyzed, the major concepts and disagreement about the definitions, variables and indicators remain steady despite the assistance of researchers and especially the past generation to theoretically and internationally recognize the integration. In summary, the perspectives and intellectual schools have their own ideas on the integration, as following.

Federalism: Transfer from a national level to a regional level, and finally generalizing the mechanism of the federal state to the level of international politics;

Communications: Karl Deutsch stipulates that the development of communications and interactions in the various technical, economic, and social fields can cause the solidarity of political units and believes that the communities can be identified and evaluated based on the volume, content and increase in international transactions. According to this view, two types of security society can be presented: integrated and pluralistic;

Functionalism: David Mitrani considers the technical needs of societies and the facilities that meet those needs as the factors creating the regional integration and believes that the technical problems cause that the politicians could not solve them and as a result they inevitably resort to the technocratic technocrats;

New Functionalism: Ernest Huss et al. recognize the integration as the process in which a series of actors (states) decide to collaborate at the international level in order to provide their own individual and collective interests based on a series of technical functions by means of delegating more power to the collective deciding organ and by means of close cooperation between the political actors. In fact, what moves the integration forward is the activity of the elite in the private and governmental sectors because of their functionalistic and not altruistic intentions. Therefore, they support the integration and imagine that they achieve interests in an ultra-national organization. However the integration is observable and tangible in the region, integration in the international politics almost always is synonym with the regionalism which is known as ultra-nationalism or inter-governmental tendencies and points to the considerable development of the economic and political cooperation between the governments and other actors in the specific geographical areas. (Ghavam, 1384/2005: 44) Thus, the certain assumptions for integration can be stated in the frame of regional integration as follows: (Seifzadeh, 1384/2005: 403)

First, predominancy is a sort of increasing gradualism logic on the human behavior. Realistic notice to human beings' inability in meeting the social needs and mixing it with idealism in this theory can form this assumption: the ultra-communities learn gradually how to develop their field of mutual activity in a way that have increase in the interests of all parties.

Second, the link between economic-technical issues is with the political issues. Mitrani considers this dichotomy as similar topics. Other new functionalist theoreticians hope that the technical cooperation could finally make the background ready for the mutual political cooperation in a federal or confederal community;

Third, the regional integration is the result of significance of geography. These theoreticians link the geographical areas with a culture with tendency to integration. They think that the

background is ready for the integration when the geographical-cultural heterogeneity is associated with functional-technical common-bases.

Although the theoreticians have suggested a strand of indices for evaluating the integration level, the integration theory has not been improved so that there would be a general agreement on the definition or the indices of integration. Thus, a list of integration indices can be extracted among the theories on the regional integration:

Communication currents; transactional currents; views and opinions of the elite; trending data (extrovert tendencies); joint decisions; predictability of behavior; degree of legitimacy, i.e., to what extent people are loyal to the government and consider it as representative for their interests; degree of illegal behavior or the frequency distribution of tendency of political actors to legal or illegal behavior; degree of political violence or the rate of recourse to violence to achieve their goals; degree of separatism demand; rowing degree, i.e. to what extent the major groups competing for the power are supported by the geographical areas and ethnic, religious, social and economic groups; degree of bureaucracy spirit, i.e. the to what extent the members of a political system are loyal truly to it instead of personal encounter with their own political unit and the place-holders; degree of power, i.e., to what extent people respect the legitimacy of their political unit and are freely ready to accede to its governance. (Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, 1372/1993: 697-700)

In this regard, the considerable point is that the accessibility to regionalism depends on four conditions as the initial acceptance of integration plans and its development and on three perceptual conditions presented by Joseph Ney (1971: 98), one of the famous theoreticians in the field of integration and functionalism and a supporter of the development of regional cooperation.

- Four Conditions for Initial Acceptance of Integration Plans and its Development
 1. Symmetry of economic units, the possibility of integration increases as the level of economic development becomes equal in the units;
 2. Co-evaluation-valuing aspects of the elite,
 3. The rate of pluralism, and acting domain of beneficiary groups;
 4. The capacity of member countries for adaptation and adjustment, the possibility of integration increases if the internal stability and ability of decision-makers is high in responding the internal demands of its own political units.
- Three Perceptual Conditions for Integration:
 1. Perception of distribution versus advantages and interests;
 2. Perception of coercion and foreign necessity;
 3. Feeling of low costs or lack of it.

2. Constructivism and Concept of Regional Integration

Regional integration tries primarily to introduce the rationality, recreational goals, technical and scientific knowledge, and the pluralistic aspects of an international society in the form of new functionalism approaches and the neoliberal institutionalism taken from the liberal standpoints and to introduce the regionalism as a reactive-functional form by the governments for the issues that produce through the mutual regional dependence with the emphasis on the role and significance of the institutions in boosting the regional integration. On the other hand, constructivism primarily focuses on the regional consciousness and the identity, and on the belonging sense to a certain regional community or so-called “cognitive regionalism” with an emphasis on the relationship between the materialized interdependence

and the understanding of identity and society. (Ghavam, 1384/2005: 60) In fact, constructivism, located in the analytical framework of so-called meta-theory in all the social sciences, is not the discussion on the international relations but is a discussion on the social sciences. In this respect, it can be said it is more or less an ontological and epistemological discussion and it is in relation with the social sciences theoretically and generally and with the international relations specifically. (Moshirzadeh, 1389/2010: 14) This approach emphasize the importance of mediators (people and groups) and the common terms, they affect their international behavior for identifying the identities, interests, institutions and perceptions. Therefore, constructivism emphasizes the importance of opinions and consciousness of international actors by means of their common interactions. (Ebrahimifar, 1391/2012: 83) This school affects the insight of actors upon themselves and their demeanor in the international domain by explaining the way of forming the interests, similarities and differences between countries by determining the threefold ontological principles by means of creating common terms and imaginations:

First, the intellectual and normative structures are as important as the materialized structures; Second, identities and norms play a determining role in forming the interests and actions; and Third, structure and broker take shape each other. (Mahpishanian, 1390/2011: 48)

Moreover, the constructivism in the epistemological dimension does not directly consider the normative discussions because of knowing the possibility of recognizing the social phenomena beside the interpretation and understanding despite its methodological openness. Thus, this school believes that the meaning of actions cannot be understood through accounting them as the measurable variables that are the cause of behavior. But the study of ideas, norms and other meanings entails an interpretive methodology in order to identify the relationships between intersubjective. (Moshirzadeh, 1383/2004: 133)

Based on this point of view, it can be said the constructivism tries to deliver the mental and behavioristic patterns of international policy to the hands of countries and actors in the field of international relations by recognizing and creating common terms by means of social learning. In fact, constructivism attempts to change the viewpoint to the international politics by emphasizing this point that the mutual imaginations affect the insight of actors toward themselves and demeanor in the international domain and finally prepare the grounds for increasing interactions in the international relations especially at the regional level by making the belonging sense to the regional community. In this regard, the rate of effectiveness on the realization of integration can be found by surveying the perspectives of the constructivism on the subjects such as identity, interests, anarchy and international institutions.

1-2. Identity: It is the understanding and expectations about ourselves that are specific to the role. Identities simultaneously make strong the intellectual selections and these are the normative patterns of international politics forming them. The identities cannot be defined separately out of their social context. By nature, they are relational issues and should be intended to a set of meanings that an actor attributes to himself/herself by also considering others' perspectives as a social object. The social identities represent specific understanding of themselves in contrast to other actors and produce certain interests through this way and form the policy-making decisions. Whether "own" considers itself as friend, rival or foe to "other", so many differences will be brought about in their interaction. (Moshirzadeh, 1383/2004: 332) Therefore, a government understands and perceives the others based on their identities, however simultaneously attempts to reproduce its own identity by means of routine

actions. In this respect, the final judge becomes the intersubjective structure if they cannot control their ultimate assumed intentions about others. (Ghavam, 1384/2005: 225) In fact, as the identity of governments is the result of their relationship with their social environment inside and in the international system, the identities are fluid issues and are not constant. (Mahdavi poor, 1393/2004: 114)

2-2. Interests: As mentioned above, the basic principle is the meaning structure in the constructivism school. Therefore, to understand the structure of international relations, it analyzes the human actors in the context of meanings and the social long-term communications. Based on this, human beings, actors, or governments do not possess predetermined identities but their identities have been formed and defined inside the social relations. So, the concepts and norms can define, shape or actually create the identities. The concepts and norms shape the identities and consequently the identities shape the interests. As a result, we cannot assume the predetermined interests for the actors. (Moshirzadeh, 1389/2010: 15) Therefore, the interests cannot be imagined as a predetermined phenomenon relating to a series of selections. Like identities, they have been acquired by means of social performances. (Ghavam, 1384/2005: 224) It is worth pointing that the social performances create the identities but they cannot determine the interests in such a way that they cannot be in opposite and paradox of those performances and the structures that create the identity. In other words, the interests are the results of performances and the structures which create the identity. Shaping the identity can determine the interests.

3-2. Anarchy: Wendt believes that “anarchy is a thing that the states realize by and from it”. For Wendt, in fact, it signifies that anarchy does not have a certain logic and is the effect of an act or procedures that bring about a specific structure of the identities and the interests and about not another structure (that was possible to produce it). Unlike new functionalists such as Waltz, Wendt does not accept that anarchy only has one logic. In his opinion, the anarchy per se is a vacuumed place and void of any internal logic. (Moshirzadeh, 1383/2004: 345) In other words, due to the intersubjective structure of the identities and the interests, the discussions of anarchy and self-help cannot anymore be accounted as antecedent to the social interactions of the governments. Therefore, the international anarchy has a conflicting mode from the perspective of realism and has a cooperative aspect from the perspective of idealism. On the opposite side, the constructivism does not consider anarchy as conflicting or cooperative, but it considers anarchy as a thing that the governments create. (Ghavam, 1384/2005: 226) Thus, anarchy can have three distinctive cultures (Hobbs, Lucan, and Kant) which are based on the various relations of roles (enmity, rivalry, and friendship). These structures and roles represent themselves in the representation of the governments of “own” and “other” (role-based identities). But in the macro scale and relatively independent from the ideas and actions of the governments that get the structures and roles, logics and tendencies that remain steady along the time. (Wendt, 1392/2013: 452) In fact, if the governments have conflicting contact toward each other, the nature of international anarchy will take a conflicting mode to itself and vice versa; if their relations are in the line of cooperation, the nature of international anarchy will take a cooperative position to itself. (Ghavam, 1384/2005: 226) Thus, it can be said that anarchy does not have a predetermined logic, but the governments’ understanding of its nature can determine its meaning in the international system. As a result, if the relations of the governments be in the course of

cooperation to a certain extent, the governments' understanding of the nature of the international system will take a cooperative position to that certain extent and consequently the access to security becomes possible.

4-2. International Institutions: For Wendt, the institutions are the intellectual units that are not independent of the suppositions of the actors that how the world works. Identities, interests, and organizations are the results of interactive and social processes that we rely on them to orient our behavior, but they are not given and realized before and taken shape by means of social interaction among identities. Identities also become strong due to the interaction with the other identities and the social and collective institutions. (Moshirzadeh, 1383/2004: 349) The constructivists believe that two stands of institutions affect the behavior of the countries in the macro and micro scales: regulatory and installation institutions. The regulatory institutions determine the behavior of actors. The installation institutions come into existence because of the tendency of actors to regulate the regulatory institutions. In this regard, these two strands of institutions which are the reflection of intersubjective structures can influence the behavior of the countries. (Seifzadeh, 1384/2005: 462) Under these circumstances, the normative effect of fundamental-based structures and the relationship among the normative changes, identity and the interests of the state will be analyzed. The institutions are continuously reproduced and changed potentially by means of governments and other actors' activities; in this procedure the institutions and the actors are situated in a process of mutual socialization. (Ghavam, 1384/2005: 223) Therefore, the identities and understanding of governments depend on the international institutions. These institutions make the actors strong as the subjects of international life, that is, they make possible the meaningful interaction among them. (Moshirzadeh, 1392/2013: 319)

According to above-mentioned issues, the constructivists do not know the identities, interests, and institutions as something predetermined but know them as the results of social interaction among identities; also, anarchy is a thing that the governments learn from it; thus making change long-term in the identities may make possible the change in the structures. In other words, constructivism can provide the change in the governments' understanding of the nature of international anarchy by means of changing the identity of governments which have origin in the theories that the actors have collectively about themselves and others and shape the structure of the social world. As a result, using constructivism can change the understanding of governments of getting in an anarchy world and self-help, the concept of security (Hobbs' model). By changing the intersubjective meanings of security concept (Kant's model) which is cooperation-based, replace with it and finally provide the integration by creating security. In this respect, as in analyzing the regionalism issues the constructivists believe in the direct relationship between security and regionalism (Mahpishanian, 1390/2011: 49), it can be stated that the constructivism can set the stage for the regional integration by changing the governments' understanding of security.

3. From Disintegration to Integration Factors in Persian Gulf Region

The integration theory implies a process that the political units neglect voluntarily their full power in achieving the common aims and follow an ultra-national power. (Ghavam, 1378/1999: 246) Therefore, the integration can be known as the result of a national demand, of an intellectual and satisfying process for acquiring a better situation that "becomes" a procedure and not "establishes". In fact, the political units succumb in an uncontrollable

current that collective cooperation is its inseparable facet. Therefore, compelling and cross-sectional incorporation are the false form of integration. (Nasiri-Meshkini, 1377/1998: 87) In this vein, the Persian Gulf region entails the necessity of full and integrated cooperation by its constituents because it is a strategic region that the ingredients are dependent completely to each other and every movement inside every units reflects in another spot of the region. It ideally seems that reaching integration is impossible in the Persian Gulf region instead of being the result of scientific and achievable facts. This type of doubtful attitude is really natural due to the current political faction in the Persian Gulf but it does not change the fact that the existence of such a doubtful attitude could guarantee the Persian Gulf's security up until now. It should be noted that sharing the interests of the Persian Gulf region in the global system entails a more positive necessity and looks for the conditions that change this impossible and ideal integration theory to a possible fact that would be an ideal for the countries in the region. (Ebrahimifar, 1378/1999: 380-379) Therefore, the feasibility and analysis of integration formation in the Persian Gulf based on the constructivism need exploring and analyzing the factors that can providing the backgrounds of integration in the Persian Gulf region. In other words, reaching the integration in the framework of constructivism would not be possible without analyzing the disintegration factors in the Persian Gulf region because a transparent picture will be drawn for the interactions of the countries by analyzing the tension-making and challenging factors among the countries of the Persian Gulf region. Therefore, it is better to analyze the role and ability of constructivism in solving the problems and to utilize the grounds to provide integration in the Persian Gulf region. Therefore, many factors and reasons could be enumerated to analyze and recognize the factors that may cause tension and stress among the states which can make impossible the appropriate grounds for any type of integration.

1-3. Territorial – Border Disputes: The current border disputes between the states in the region not only have put in danger the peace and security of the region, but also have made difficult the access to the integration by means of cooperation and solving the misunderstanding. There are more than 50 cases of territorial and border disputes among the eight countries around the Persian Gulf. (Ebrahimifar, 1378/1999: 390) The fact is that the new borders that are the legacy of colonialism with those that has a role in the process of modern statecraft, as the rate of stable and determined borders were very little among the Arabs before the World War I, it can be said that all the borders are factitious in the Middle East in the 21st century; it means that the stable and determined borders were not raised from a native concept. (Hafeznia and Rabiee, 1392/2013: 218) Thus, it can be stated that the border disputes are like the fire under the ash which it can be erupted in every moment.

2-3. Political Structure: The political structure of the region lacks any integration and coherence as well as the distinctive and heterogeneous features. The political systems of the region are the closed systems which they are based on the Neo-Patrimonialist system and based on the legitimacy raised from the history and tradition. (Nasi-Meshkini, 1377/1998: 87) In this regard, except Iran and Iraq (from 2003) establishing on the legitimacy raised from referendum and election, and UEA being the only federal government among the countries of Persian Gulf Cooperation Council, the rest of countries jointly follow an integrated and unified system all over the country that faced them with the identity, legitimation, participation, penetration and distribution crises because of the lack of legal legitimation of

the leaders, lack of political open system, lack of basis liberties such as equality of men and women, lack of rule of law, freedom of the press and political parties, and the lack of public participation in political and social structures. Accordingly, we see the failure of local political control in the management of domestic and regional crises, particularly among the Arab regimes in the region. As a result, weak political structure of countries in the region addresses a kind of lack of security and development in the military dimension of national security as the major factor for internal stability and external security among the leader of the Persian Gulf countries.

3-3. Arms race: Lack of understanding of the concept and nature of development and security in meeting the collective security among the Persian Gulf countries caused that the weapon commerce and cycle have a complex role in providing the national security. Therefore, each country in the Persian Gulf region tries to increase its security through unilateral measures such as the purchase of advanced military weapons; on the other hand other countries in the region due to insecurity in turn resort to military countermeasures to increase their security. As a result, the countries in the Persian Gulf region feel less security or even insecurity despite increasing its regional military. Thus, they repeat this false cycle. Statistics show that the Persian Gulf countries allocated 10 % of imports of major conventional weapons during 2009- 2005. (Solmirano-D.Wezman, 2010: 2) Notably, the arms race in the Persian Gulf region as one of the most common causes of mistrust among countries in the region to achieve collective security by spending resources from oil revenues to army costs prevent the social and economic development of the countries and also reduce the security there. Totally, the army security can cause disintegration in the region.

4-3. Religious Gap: The difference between Sunnis and Shiites is a source of threat to security in the region. (Hafeznia and Rabiee, 1392/2013: 245) In addition to Iran as the biggest Shiite country, Iraq and Bahrain have a large population of Shiite. Also, the majority of the inhabitants of the oil-rich province of Saudi Arabia, which are located in the East, are Shiites. It should be noted that except Iraq after the fall of Saddam, Shiites took power, Shiites Saudi Arabia and Bahrain there is no place in the political structure.

5-3. Penetration of Extra-Regional Powers: Given the strategic role and oil reserves in the Persian Gulf region, there has been always the scene for competition of extra-regional western colonial powers, especially United States, as a major regional player in the contemporary era. This area for two reasons has always been a confluence point for foreign policy extra-regional powers in the pursuit of their national interests: first, the Persian Gulf region is of great importance due to abundant oil reserves in the world oil market, Hence, the West industrialized nations rely heavily on Persian Gulf oil; and second, the major factor that makes Persian Gulf oil and gas so vital for the United States, Europe and Japan is the high cost for replacing the imported oils and gas from the Persian Gulf with other forms of energies such as earth, sun, sea and hydrogen (Yusefi-Juibari, 1381/2002: 163) Therefore, the extra-regional countries to achieve the goals and influence in the Persian Gulf region attempt to design a special security-related formula for the Persian Gulf region in order to collect the revenues from the regions and to develop Iranphobia. They finally imply the countries in the region that their security is met by the support of extra-regional powers and also justify their presence in the region.

3-6. Ethnic-Racial Differences: There were historical differences between Iranians and Arabs during the history and a susceptible historical memory has been created the dispute. Moreover, differences between Kurds and Arabs in Iraq are the stressful issues in the region. (Hafeznia and Rabiee, 1392/2013: 245)

3-7. Inter-Regional Competitions: Competition of three countries of Iran, Iraq and Saudi Arabia over the authority and region leadership has been caused the formation of an inter-regional paradox in the Persian Gulf region. Because of the change of regime in Iraq, the Sunni minority have been deprived from the leadership until 1932 dependence. The majority Shiite have taken the power instead. Thus, the future of Iraq is so important for Iran and Saudi Arabia and they want to have their government-like government in Iraq. In fact, In fact, Iraq is the sensitive place of two countries' foreign policy to reach the understanding or the probable confrontation. Tending-to-Saudi Arabia Iraq means the narrowness of isolation circle for Iran and vice versa. Tending-to-Iran Iraq means the geo-politic unity of Shiite, disturbing the balance of power in the region, and the danger of separatist tendencies from Saudi Arabia. Hence, Iraq possesses a strategic weight in the region evolving the gravity center of power balance in a new form (Zaker-Ardakani, 1390/2011: 61)

3-8. Residency and Civilization: On the aspect of civilization, except Iran, Iraq and Saudi Arabia having long background in the statehood and civilization, the other countries in the regional do not have a civilized background. Recently, the upstart countries in the region are exploiting the scientific-literary laureates of the civilized countries such as Iran. There is fear that the continuation of this condition can lead to civilizing-racial confrontations. (Hafeznia and Rabiee, 1392/2013: 246).

Now, after identifying and classifying of disintegration factors in the Persian Gulf to measure the feasibility of constructivism and to reduce doubts and misunderstandings created by these dissenting factors, we address the common features that paying attention to them can close the Persian Gulf states and can help and assist constructivism to achieve integration. Here goes some factors that can set the stage for integration in the Persian Gulf region: (Ebrahimifar, 1391/2012: 50)

- Oil, the main source of income.
- Islam, the official religion of the population of the region.
- More economic dependence on the region countries on the western capitalist system.
- The region's growing population.
- Sharing environmental dangers for the countries.
- The countries are all developing countries.
- The existence of a common enemy, Israel.

By examining the areas of integration and disintegration among the countries of the Persian Gulf, it could be said that the proportion of integration factors to disintegration factors does not have balance and the output of integration forces to disintegration forces has more power. Therefore, we are witnessing that the integration and collective security is not achieved in the Persian Gulf, or at least incompletely achieved based on the perceived threat of regional political units from another part of the same region as we can see among the countries of the southern Persian Gulf, entitled "Persian Gulf Cooperation Council" without participation of Iran and Iraq. But in the meantime, a point that must be considered, a set of factors that can provide the areas of integration in the Persian Gulf are not less effective than disintegration-

making factors, but also it can provide the grounds for forming the mental behavior patterns with the assistance of Constructivism, through the establishment of common concepts through social learning, by changing divergence factors, and thus influence common perceptions on regional actors insights about themselves and the way they behaved, what regional level and at the level International cooperation and regional integration provided subsequently.

4. Constructivism Standpoint: Preliminary to Regional Integration in Persian Gulf

From the constructivism viewpoint, identities, interests, and institutions are not pre-determined issues but they are the result of social interaction among identities; they also consider anarchy as something that the governments learn from it; as a result, they believe that the structural changing is possible in a long-term period. By changing the intersubjective meanings of security concept (Kant's model) which is cooperation-based, replace with it and finally provide the integration by creating security. In this respect, the components that constructivists consider change as possible based on identity, interests, anarchy and institutions in the Persian Gulf region. To measure the feasibility of integration formation in this region based on the constructivism school, identity, interests, anarchy and institutions are taken into account:

4-1. Identity: It is the constant understanding and based on its specific role and expectations from other people. Alexander Wendt in *Social Theory of International Politics* defines identity as "anything that changes a thing to a thing that should be". (Moshirzadeh, 1392/2013: 325) Based on this, the social identities show their own specific understanding in relation with other actors and accordingly they produce specific interest and frame the decisions of policy-makers. Whether "own" considers itself as friend, rival or foe to "other", so many differences will be brought about in their interaction. In conditions that Kant's model is met, the concept of friendship is dominant, in such a condition, "own" and "other" will present a friendly image from each other. In this regard, if the Persian Gulf region has not been witnessed the emergence of a collective security organization, because the concept of competition or animosity is dominant in the region. Hence, the formation of collective security organization based on constructivism needs to dominate the concept of friendship or at least reduce the intensity of competition or enmity and move the states toward friendship. (Ravanbod, 1388/2009: 20)

According to the theory of constructivism, norms have many roles in the construction of the states' identity and cause them to gain an understanding of their interests. In this theory, the norms are devices for regulating the behavior of governments and a way toward defining the interests of countries. The norms cause development of collective identity. The countries and nations can huddle up by means of cultural, social, value, and historical contributions. (Mahdavi poor, 1392/2013: 121) There are three factors that Wendt believes that they can help the changing process of a subjective culture to a collective culture. Wendt call these factors as three master variables: interdependence, common Fate, and homogeneity. Whatever Wendt represents are not the assisting factors to a collective behavior, but they are specifically the features that help reframing the identities or the role of governments about superiority-seeking to friendship. (Shafee and Rezaee, 1391: 76) Therefore, Iran and Saudi Arabia, two powers of the region, instead of being in competition on catching the regional power and determining the regional rubric, can change the dominant culture of the region by

changing “own” and “other” among their actors at the regional and international levels. (Ravanbod, 1388/2009: 19-20) In the vein, since Islam is the most important linking batch for people around the Persian Gulf for many years, although there are different branches and readings about Islam in the Islamic countries in general and the Persian Gulf in particular, but it is the common contributions and laws that can gather them in a certain time and place (Mohammadi and Zeinivand, 1393/2014: 23) and by destroying the anarchic discourse in the Persian Gulf region, and by bringing about better understanding platform of the common concepts such as common identity, common destiny, common security, common threat, common geopolitics and etc. provide integration background in the region.

2-4. Interests: In constructivism, the identities form the interests, therefore the interests of actors of international relations cannot be pre-determined; but they like identities are acquired by means of social performances. As a result, the social performances cause formation of the identities and cannot determine the interests in a way that will be in conflict with the structures and performances that comprise identity. In other words, the interest raise from the structures and performances that constitute identity and the interests will be determined by formation of identity. In this regard, it is necessary and vital to notice the perception and understanding of the Persian Gulf governments to be put in the common geopolitics and consequently the common destiny. So, there are three factors that Wendt believes that they can help the changing process of a subjective culture to a collective culture. Wendt call these factors as three master variables: interdependence, common Fate, and homogeneity. Whatever Wendt represents are not the assisting factors to a collective behavior, but they are specifically the features that help reframing the identities or the role of governments about superiority-seeking to friendship. The thought of “sum=0”, dominant in the region, is a winning in the one side and a defeat in the other side. In the first step, in solving the enigma by means of constructivism in determining and defining the interests by “sum≠0” in which algebraic sum of winnings or defeats should not necessarily be zero. Gradually, it is replaced with the “sum-sum” approach about the security issues in the Persian Gulf region so that all the involved parties lose or win in a specific issue.

4-3. Security: The discourse of security dominant in the Persian Gulf region in the negative security studies, a part of traditional security studies in which the emphasis is on the military aspects of security. As in the traditional security studies, the national security means the lack of foreign army threat against the government. As a result, the rule of game in such a discourse sums zero, that is, the victory of a political unit only is defined under the terms of its rival’s defeat and the national security is created due to the dearth of army threat outside the national borders. (Mandel, 1377/1398: 44) Accordingly, the efforts of Persian Gulf states to establish and achieve security through confrontation and conflict will be accepted. In this case, the actions of one country to increase security in the region through the purchase of advanced weapons, other Persian Gulf states due to lack of sense of security, to take steps to increase their security, which is planned. Thus, the cycle is repeated buy weapons. Therefore, the security of any country actually does not increase and eventually causes the Persian Gulf states with its regional military capabilities are growing, they feel less secure or insecure (Ebrahimifar, 1381/2002: 13) The school Constructivism, unlike the prevailing view was that the security of the Persian Gulf on the basis of realism and self-help and anarchy of international system, believes anarchy predetermined logic, but understand the state of their

nature determines its meaning is in the international system. So, anarchy could at least three Hobbes culture (enmity), Lucan (competition) and Kant (s) have, in representation of the State of “own” and “other” reflected in the structures and roles. Accordingly, the Persian Gulf states can change the perception of “own” and “other” in the sense of security cooperation (in security policies to minimize the security approach to increasing international cooperation and national power insists. According to this view, security of a nation only increases in light of the increase in the safety of other neighboring nations. A nation can feel secure when they increase their power against the power of the nation or other nations. (Ebrahimifar, 1381/2002: 12) Looking at the issue of security in the Persian Gulf region causes the change in the understanding of the culture Hobbes (enmity) to Kant (friendship). As a result, the Persian Gulf states can enter oil money to social and economic development cycle instead of allocating the money for military facilities, and then they providing security both at the regional level and finally the regional integration becomes possible.

4-4. Regionalism: From the standpoint of constructivism, the institutions are the well-known units which do not exist independent of the suppositions of the actors in relation with the performance of the world. The institutions are the reflection of the two strands of regulatory and installation. The institutions affect the behavior of the countries. Under the influence of these conditions, the normative influence of the fundamental-based structures and the relationship with the normative changes, identity and the interests of a government are investigated. It should be noted, at the same time the institutions are continually reproduced that are produced, and brought about potentially through the activities of the government and other actors and other actors in which the institutions and the actors are located in the mutual socialization process. So, it can be said that the constructivism majorly emphasizes on the relationship between the materialized and mutual dependence, understanding the identity and the society, and also emphasizes on the consciousness and regional identity, belonging sense to a specific regional society or so-called “cognitive regionalism”. Nowadays, regionalism in the global politics, usually is synonymous with ultra-nationalism or the inter-governmental tendencies, points to the striking development of the economic and political cooperation between the countries and other actors in the specific geographical areas. (Hafeznia and Rabiee, 1392/2013: 241) Accordingly, common in the geopolitics of the Persian Gulf states, the countries in addition to the common destiny, common threats and mutual interests have even made, subject to the adoption of constructivism school emphasis on the relationship between the material and understanding of the interdependence identity and community, to raise awareness and regional identity and sense of belonging to a particular regional community, can achieve regionalism in the Persian Gulf region possible.

Meanwhile, strengthen regionalism has always been a principle of the Islamic Republic of Iran’s foreign policy has been fixed. This is mainly for two reasons: First, reduce the role of external actors in regional issues. Second, the withdrawal of political structure - the security balance and balance of interests and focus on a strategy of regional cooperation. (Barzeghar, 1394/2015: 50) So, in order to achieve regionalism, the Islamic Republic of Iran to the two approaches to better understand the relationship between the material and understanding of identity and community interdependence among the countries of the Persian Gulf, with an emphasis on common geopolitical follows:

First, the nuclear talks: Since “no real reconciliation between Iran and the Arab states of the Persian Gulf without preliminary normalization of political relations between Iran and the

West, especially the United States, there will be. Important progress in relation to the process of talks between Iran and P5 + 1 could be a fundamental step in this direction” (Przemyslaw, 2014: 258) Dr. Zarif, Minister of Foreign Affairs, writes in the journal *Foreign*: “No need to explain the long shadow and is continuing tension between Iran and the United States several decades, which have deteriorated as a result of nuclear difficult situation more complicated relations between Iran and some of its neighbors have”. (Zarif, 2014: 6) So, Islamic Republic of Iran diplomacy in the beginning of the 11th state (Hope and Thinking) based on the current discourse of moderation in the face of urgent challenges for Iran, focused on a number of immediate objectives: “The first priority is to neutralize and finally defeat the international anti-Iranian movement which has been issued by the U.S and Israel to “secure” Iran, that is, de-legislating Islamic Republic by depicting the figure of Iran as a threat against the global discipline. And means for the current crisis over Iran's peaceful nuclear program is purely fictitious and thus critical that Iran is reversible. Just for the reason that [President] Rohani to break the deadlock and log in talks with the P5 + 1 (China, France, Russia, Great Britain, the United States and Germany) to find common ground and reach an agreement non-proliferation guarantee, Iran's scientific achievements to protect the rights of non-differentiation of Iran on the nuclear non-proliferation treaty to respect and unjust sanctions that have been imposed by foreign powers end, without delay action”. (Zarif, 2014: 9) As a result, the discourse of moderation can provide a constructive interaction at three levels of regional, international system and nuclear diplomacy, in the first step to achieving Geneva, Lausanne Declaration and the Vienna nuclear deal in nuclear talks with the P5 + 1 process, While recognizing the inalienable right of the Islamic Republic of peaceful uses of nuclear energy in the community and in international circles, provide presence and influence of Iran in constructive interaction according to mutual respect with emphasis on common interests in the region and the international system.

Second, Regional Perspective of Iran: In order to achieve regionalism, in the Persian Gulf region, Iran's regional foreign policy in the direction of constructive engagement with neighbors based on mutual respect, common interests and ending with an emphasis on providing the illusion of Iranphobia and set the stage for strategic partnership with our neighbors. Regional policy can be described in a speech at the 69th General Assembly of the United Nations Dr. Ruhani observed: “The policy of my country's principles, efforts to engage constructively with its neighbors based on mutual respect, and with an emphasis on common interests. The question Iranian hegemony over Muslim countries myth that Iranphobia projects in recent years it has been blown. They blow the horn, the need to invent an imaginary enemy to perpetuate tensions and the escalation of conflict and division, to kill the diversion of resources to the development of nations. Our primary approach, an end to the illusion of Iranphobia and promoting the strategic partnership with neighbors”. (Dr. Ruhani's Speech at the 69th General Assembly of the United Nations, 1393.7.3/ 2014.Sep.24)

Thus, we see that Iran is trying to accomplish the nuclear talks between Iran and the P5+1 (ratifying the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (Barjam) of Vienna), talks of this as grounds for constructive engagement, with mutual respect, with emphasis on common interests with regional neighbors in to create a shared understanding of regional identity for regional integration step. Therefore, we can achieve the clear vision of regionalism in the framework of constructivism school in the Persian Gulf region.

Conclusion

The constructivism school as a meta-theory could focus on the role of language, rules, norms and culture in the development of international relations with emphasis on the role and importance of non-material dimensions of social life. Paying attention to the common intersubjective beliefs among the world's population in the macro-scale, this school believes that identities and institutions are not the predetermined issues, but they define and determine the identities and interests based on the relations they create. Also, anarchy knows the international system as something that the governments learn from it. As a result, it knows possible the structure change by means of changing the identities in a long-term period. This view of the possibility of structure change faces the constructivism in the face of idealism that knows the international environment and the scene of self-help and anarchy, and thus with a competitive sense of security (Hobbes' model), it puts the international system in the scene of competition, tension and conflict. In this vein, constructivism approach to identity where a change in the identities can change the actor and consequently alters the fundamental changes in the structure. It provides backgrounds for reaching the integration among the political decision-makers. It should be taken into account that fundamental change in the international politics happens when the beliefs and the identities of the domestic actors change. Accordingly, the Persian Gulf region in which the integration and collective security are not met or at least in an incomplete form and based on the assumption of threat feeling as a part of political units of the region in another part of the same region (Persian Gulf Cooperation Council; without the presence Iran and Iraq) look at the type of school in which identity Constructivism, interests, institutions and anarchy the international system is not predetermined and selected, can be shared with new concepts and ideas such as: common identity, common destiny, common security, common threat, a common geopolitical, and also a change in attitude about themselves and the way they treat actors in the international system, the formation of a common collective identity, attitude change in benefits, alternative security in the Persian Gulf region: strengthening the political influence and more penetration in the international decision-making processes, the ability to stabilize oil price, facing the regional and extra-regional threats, fighting against terrorism, narcotics and human trafficking, fighting against environmental threats, the ability to maintain and rebuild Islamic-religious culture in the region, increasing the economic power and exiting from the one-product system.

In the end, the significant point is to notice the role of nuclear negotiation and Iran's point of view to the Persian Gulf region because achieving Vienna nuclear agreement and ratifying Barjam show that the negotiating parties have looked with the glass of constructivism to the subject and to each other. The constructivism vision can provide a constructive and interactive background, based on the mutual respect and emphasis on the mutual and equal interests with the neighbors in the Persian Gulf region and highlight the perspective of reaching the regional integration.

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