The role of political socialization on Iranian presidents’ foreign policy making

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Abstract

The process of formation and development at different stages of a human life as well as his/her political socialization is effective on the behavior of every individual. Political socialization, shapes the political character of individuals and in the case of presidential stature, seriously affect his/her policymaking including the field of foreign policy. The main question in this article is that how the political socialization of the Iranian presidents (Khatami and Ahmadinejhad) affected their decisions in the field of foreign policy? It seems that political socialization through three factors of family, peers, and education and training, has shaped their personality and behavior. In this paper, a descriptive-explorative method and the data collecting from library and Internet is used to prove the hypothesis.

Keywords: political socialization, Iran, Ahmadinejhad, Khatami, foreign policy.

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Introduction

Foreign policy as one of the most important concepts and the practices of a government is how it acts with other countries and other international actors and deals with problems arousing in this arena. The diversity of international actors (governments, international organizations, international characters, etc.) as well as the diversity of interests and attitudes of each participant has made it difficult for the decision-making process. Three obvious reasons are: 1- it is not initiated in a vacuum but results from an evolution in social life, 2- it is a result of developments through interaction at local, regional and international levels, and 3- it derives from human decision-making structures of geographic, cultural, political, and administrative ones (Sajjadpour, 2002:5).

Although every country's laws and regulations has determined the scope of duties and the extent of powers of every institution and every authority has to work within the framework of these powers and to maintain the national interests of the country, but the action in reality is based on an individual analysis of the process. In other words, authorizes have personal importance and position as well as their legal status. The difference in decision making between these authorities are drawn from this personal position which is a result of their political socialization. Analysis of the authorities navigating impetus including power seeking or cooperation; the cognitive system include concept frameworks; the evaluation of personality and temperament including spiritually streaks, the energy level, behavioral stability, optimism or pessimism; cognitive-political beliefs including their understanding of the concept of politics, the nature of global politics, pacific or warmongering demands; grammatical and linguistic analysis of lectures and verbal communications of the authorities with the masses; and finally, the leadership method including the method of decision making, type of relations with consultants and the bureaucratic apparatus, method of political talks, all of them have impacts on the formation of the authorities impressive character and dominant values. Some of these factors are more effective in some authorizes during their course of political socialization.

The main question of this article is that how the president's political socialization can affect foreign policy decisions of the Islamic Republic of Iran? Our initial response to this question is that the political socialization was caused by the influence of three determinants of family, peers, and education and training have shaped the authorities character and behavior in making decisions in the field of foreign policy. In this paper, a descriptive-explorative method and the data collecting from library and Internet is used in order to prove the hypothesis.

Political socialization and Leaders personality

Elites are being studied as effective variable and factor in process of decision making in the field of foreign policy. Attending to the role of elites in process of decision making arise from the fact that in Islamic republic of Iran, the task of making decision based on their perceptions of reality is this Elite group responsibility. Thus, the role of elites and how they influence the decision making process is essential for understanding this process. (Ghasemi be ta, 158-159). According to this a significant part of the elite behavior and decision makers returns to their lives and
beginning experiences and continuity and discontinuity which this results shaping of the character and future thoughts of the person.

On the other hand, in discussing political psychology and personality psychology … understanding of the personalities and leaders thoughts should be considered in a Longitudinal Perspective and biography(William, 1988: 69-70).This group of researchers attend in spoken temple to influence of important life events in formation of leaders' character as well as studying specific aspects of their behavior and actions associated with the political position such as basic motivation, mental and character health problem, Political ideals, leadership and decision making technique(William, 1988: 52-57).

Simultaneously, Continuity of longitudinal studies Saykvbyvgrafyk in political psychology, the past two decades, and another important trend in this area has been formed which is called transverse studies. As the name implies transverse studies instead of attending to biographical data and presenting psychological narrative of the whole character, it attends to aspects and special characteristics in leaders' psychology and political behavior (BaniJamali, bi ta, page 66).Studding of leaders navigator motivation incentives contains power motivations, cooperation and idealism, studding of their Cognitive system include the Cognitive complexity or simplicity and perceptual orientation, studding temperament and personality traits such as mood, energy level, behavioral stability, optimism or pessimism, basic political-cognitive beliefs includes understanding the concept of politic , understanding of nature of the global politics, peaceful or bellicose tendencies, convergence or divergence in international politics, analyze of grammar and language and leader's verbal communication with the masses,… and finally the leadership style such as decision making technique, method of political dialogue and interaction with followers and social mobilization technique, are among the most important thematic reviews which in the transverse studies part of psychological policy filed. (Jerrold, 2003: 25-82). According to such attitude can be said that personality and psychologically traits of the leaders in foreign policy decision making field can have a significant impact.

Character factor as mentioned is in a deep connection with the leaders' narrative and we believe that it is retrieved from their political socialization in passing of time and changing person mood and condition from childhood to adulthood. Educating and training people in different ages for facing with society and issues and process, are always such important concerns for officials and thought promoters in society. Accordingly, political socialization is a step toward realizing this ideal. "all human communities have argument for their solidarity on a series of values, norms, symbols and etc which all of these summarize in concept of culture. This common argument doesn't exist in at birth but must be obtained during personal life. The process of studding this social education in policy dimension is political socialization."(Robert, 1972: 179)

As Dickerson points out "a good citizen is to be made rather than born."(O. Dickerson, 2010:57). In this regard it can be noted that family, parties, organizations, places of worship, schools, universities, peer groups, virtual and mass media and … by utilizing (direct and indirect) or (overt and covert) methods can effect on people shaping and political growth. (Soifer: 86 2010) but we can say that in most cases, mentioned institution are using these two methods
simultaneously, although they have strength and weakness in the way of using them. "All these factors do not move in one direction and perfect harmonies necessarily, but they may conflict with each other and work together to defuse. Another point is that the importance of these factors shouldn’t be counted as the same, because in addition to the fact that the efficacy of each person from each factors differ to a variety of different reasons, in different period of each person life, the importance and role of these factors may be different. (Tajmazinani, 1383, 75)

According to Piaget's view, educating political socialization is the most important stages of people's lives. The theory "social education", the main emphasis is on the early stages of people's live, which in terms of establishment and growth of information and knowledge plays the most important role. Although in the stage of development and intellectual autonomy, selection find a rational face of his cognitive quantity or value judgments from individual and social experiments or mimicking the behavior of others, especially parents and family or community norms. But this theory in political socialization studies emphasis on the political personality and the people's personalitiy of people forms, especially through education of parents and families, in childhood. This attitude in Iran since the Islamic revolution of 1342 began making process; evidence of this was in the words of Imam Khomeini (ra), which he refers to the Pahlavi's regime: all of my helpers for the revolution are breast-fed infants in the cradle; which he could overthrow the Pahlavi's regime during the 12 years overt and covert struggle. This indicates that during these years all of the parents, prepared their children to fight with the Pahlavi's regime and created a political and revolutionary character of children.

Due to the factors affecting the process of people's socialization and leader's character formation mentioned above, three components of family, partners and peers, training and education can be the most influential factors in shaping leader's personality and influencing decision making of foreign policy.

3-Family
A significant portion of distinct attitudes and human interferences in the political affairs is due to the circumstances of their families' socialization. The importance of the family institution and its role on political socialization stems from the fact that, firstly human beings have experienced it and secondly, the main characters of every individual are growing up from the family. This influence is so profound that some people take these with them till the end of their life and in fact, all thoughts and behaviors in both individual and collective lives are shaped by these characters. It is believed that most children at an early age are able to recognize different approaches and the political expectations. This means that “for young children, the family represents the entire world surrounding him/her. The image of ‘self’ in the mind of a child, is a reflection of feeling that the family shows to him/her. Thus, one’s conception of him/herself and of the world and the people around is directly influenced by the views and beliefs of the family. The values, individual accepts and the different roles expected from him/her to fulfill, is at first thought within the network of family relationship.” (Cohen, 2003: 110)
Parents transfer to the child the political values in the early years. This will provide a long-term influence on shaping future political attitudes of their children (gln.dcccd.edu). They educate them with such simple behaviors as childhood, obedience, order, law, management, truth, forgiveness, encouragement, discipline, cooperation and possibly withdrawal. These behaviors will find themselves at later ages in citizenship, nationality, political order, respect for the law, political management and leadership, justice and respect for the rights of others, the political toleration, proposition, opposition, participation and finally political indifference. Early experiences in participation in family affairs decision making may increases the children's understanding of political competence and provide them with skills required for politics.

Khatami’s family influence on his thought and his temperament cannot be ruled out. His father, Ruhollah Khatami, was the founder of Seminary School in Ardakan and Friday prayer Imam in Yazd. Imam Khomeini had introduced the late Khatami the outstanding figure in purity and faith and of fans of Islam (Khomeini, 1999, Vol. 21: 170). His wife was Zohreh Sadeghi, the niece of Imam Musa Sadr. He was interested in politics from the very young. Thanks to the father’s democratic manner, democracy was reined at home. “In his father's home anyone might read a book wished, say anything desired ... all were of thinkers. Ayatollah Khatami (Khatami’s father) was also such sociable and loving person that their meeting was very hot ...Seyed Mohammad Khatami respected his father very much” says Mohammad Taghi Fazel Meybodi a friend of the childhood (Meybodi, 2001: 18-17).

Another family characteristics influential in shaping Khatami’s personality and political socialization was his conciliatory behavior and internal solidarity towards the political system and the power and influence of clergy that acted with autonomy. Multiple power sources such as mosques (the location available to resolve disputes and to educate the religion) and properties (endowments of holy shrines, mosques and seminaries, offerings and tithe) had made the clergy strong and as an institution, financially independent from the government. (Azghandi, 2007: 132) The openness, tolerance and pacific behavior were the main grounds shaping the peaceful characters in Khatami foreign policy. Saying “war, conflict and violence between those in power were always more than others”, Khatami believed “praising and recommending the peace have not much interest but there have to be pacific spirits to brought up, dialogue about peace has to be turned into a global discourse of peace and the paradigm or model of violence and conflict changed into a model and paradigm of mutual understanding as the dialogue among civilizations be raised over the clash of civilizations”. (Great Islamic Encyclopedia, 2014)

An outcome of this Khatami’s pacific character is the formation of detente in foreign policy. He believed that “the art of diplomacy is to reduce from the number of our enemies anytime soon and to add the number of our friends and close. As a result, we pass the phase of deterrence to confidence-building and from that to lasting comprehensive regional mutual cooperation.”

The principles governing over the deterrence in foreign policy of Khatami's time were as follow:

a) peace and security in neighboring Iran, b) friendship with the Muslim world, c) cooperation with states and international organizations, d) active participation in international organizations.

As far, Kamal Kharrazi, the minister for foreign affairs spoke out the adjustment of the Islamic Republic of Iran’s ideology and named Iran a nation-state. Reviewing Ahmadinejad’s family leads us to the fact that he unlike previous presidents was from a deprived family belonging to the oppressed class of Iranian society who later changed
into the bourgeois class when enrolled to the University of Science and Technology. Ahmadinejad, himself speaks about his family circumstances such:

“In such circumstances (bad economy childhood) yet father’s Sledgehammer and anvil were not enough for the family expenses and I had to start working in the workshop of one of the neighbors pressing the cooler channels to help the family and provide the expenses of my education. Though very naughty and active, never I ignored the school” (Hekmat, 2010: 28).

Accordingly, during his management as Tehran mayor and later the president, he was under the influence of justice based on the idea of supporting the oppressed from which he himself was raised. The type of his rhetoric was close to the masses’ one, where lead him to the idea of “approaching the south” during his presidency and made the impetuous for his radical position in his first speech at the United Nations General Assembly that led to increasing threatening measures of the West against Iran.

In his presidency, Ahmadinejad made a visit to African countries of Gambia, Sudan, Algeria, Kenya, Comoros, Djibouti and Senegal (twice), as well as to Latin American countries of Nicaragua, Brazil, Cuba, Ecuador, Bolivia and Venezuela (three times). Head of ninth and tenth governments visited the Eastern and Central Asian countries, including Indonesia, Kyrgyzstan, Sri Lanka, Kazakhstan, Armenia, Pakistan, Azerbaijan (three times), Malaysia (twice), Turkmenistan (twice), China (twice), Tajikistan (twice) and Afghanistan (twice). However, his Middle Eastern destinations were limited to Kuwait, UAE, Oman, Bahrain, Turkey, Iraq (twice), Saudi Arabia (twice), Syria (three times) Qatar (four times) and eventually the European countries of were maintained at the bottom of his list where Italy, Denmark, Switzerland, Belarus and Russia were the only countries he paid a visit. (Siami Namin, 2013)

Cooperation with international organizations and institutions belonging to the developing countries of the South was also increasing in his presidency though not fruitful and effective from the operational perspective. He in his 9th government could take advantage of the NAM to prevent from formation of a consensus against Iran, delegitimizing the Western countries threats against the anti-West policies of Iran and increasing the bargaining power of Iran in its negotiations. Diplomatic achievements of Iran in the NAM were some statements issued to support Iran’s position. Overall, as the evidences show, despite its wider geographic scope and the greater number of its members, the NAM as a trans-regional movement had no trans-regional impact. Members of the NAM are from developing countries that have not much bargaining power against the great power countries. The Organization of Islamic Cooperation was another organization with which Iran sought to expand its cooperation but ultimately failed to meet Iran's national interests at both regional and global levels.

Iran's diplomatic measures in relation with the OIC indicates that it quantitatively was of extensive all through the international arena but were qualitatively unable to play a role as it should be (Afzal and Kiyani, 2013, 110-115). As a result of these confrontational policies in his presidency, tensions of a high-intensity resided over much of the period on Iran's diplomatic apparatus against the West (Torabi, 110-119).

Deterrence during the presidency of Mohammad Khatami was a prominent strategy proposed by the head of the government in contrast to that of Ahmadinejad who rarely entered into theorizing and strategy building. Even he refused to propose any name to his strategy and such
naming of saviorism, justice and excellence-orientation are just as interpreted by foreign policy analysts.

3.2 Friend and partners:

"In adolescence and youth, groups of friends are known as the most important factor influencing person political socialization. Group of friends is defined a set of people with similar social status and often common interest which includes personal and … ties and the members of these groups know (considerable extent) each other and appreciate each other and are almost in the same age. " (Winter,2006 :130) "although extensive access of the age groups to their members and relationships between them" cause a strong relationship and effectiveness of the these groups. " because people tend to be liked and respect them – people often moderate their values and behavior to match with the people's expectation they are deal with." (Tajmazinani, 2004 :84) during this period, unlike the children and father and mother relationship, its relationship with friends, the relationship is based on equality and mutual understanding. Children learn many of the social norms from friends group such as cooperation and friendship and mutual interest patterns. What sociologies calls (work ethics), children practice in friends and playmates group.

One of the age groups works is wider community cultural transmission, which belong to it. Including social class culture, some ethnic and religious cultures are transferred from the friend group. A children who grows up in a working class family learns the way of working class life, if he gets into age groups that contains his age social class students, they will strengthen the culture he previously have learnt in his family. Friend group like family have a huge impact on political attitude of the society's people. "Because friend group are in the same age and there are a sense of competition and cooperation among them, usually the follow common standards that are linked to the person responsible for the group. Age groups as a people socializing factor, gets to its peak of importance and impact in puberty." (Ghanadan, 1996:96)

In fact the impact of this factor can be analyzed and studied in schools and universities between the teenage and young people since 1357 after the Islamic revolution of Iran in different society political condition in terms of political behavior. In fact the interaction of these students during the studding period, could gain the different political spectrum in a degree between zero to hundred between the different student views.

Friends of Mohammad Khatami except the Rohaniyyun who had issued in the years before the revolution, (like Seyedahmad Khomeini, Mohammad Taghifazelmeybodi, Seyed Mahmoud Doayi) most of his friends and relatives were his press colleagues and deputies of the ministry in his courses. People like Ebrahimmasqarzade, Isasaharkhiz, Mostafatajzade, Mohsen Aminzade, Hadikhaniki and Ahmadburghani were amongst his colleagues at the ministry of culture. In the fall of 1359 he took the chief of Keyhan institution as the representative of the Supreme leader, and stayed in this position until the end of 60 Shamsi decades. Friends like Mashala Shams Olvaezin, Rezatehrani, Akbarganji were beside him which after his leaving from the Keyhan newspaper, they built the Kian ring. (Fazlinejad, 2007:84)
The intersection of circle of Mohammad Khatami's friends, was religious intellectual thoughts which tended more to Islamic socialism in sixties solar and with the establishment of Kian publication in 1370, was regarded to issues such as Islamic liberal democracy. Presence in 60s Keyhan was the background of a close acquaintance with intellectuals which many of them were his theorists during his presidential and its result was formation of strategies of global civil society and dialogues among civilizations which previously was explained in Iranian thinker votes like Abdolkarim Sorush and Darius Shaygan (Fazlinejad, 2015:7)

On the other hand, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, as one of the Islamic republic of Iran's leaders who was very affected by the reflections of friends and fellow and party time. Doctor Ahmadinejad to improve his social status, before the Islamic Revolution in Iran in the form of students had took part in religious ceremonies and political society and politics and After the Islamic Revolution in Iran, according to attending in University he was one of the founders of the Islamic Association of Elmosanat University; He worked for a while in Jebhe in combat engineering. Most important positions that can be noted was governor of Maku, Khoy, governor of Ardebil in years 1372 to 1376, managing director of Hamshahri newspaper and the mayor of Tehran from 1382 to 1384. He is also a member of the faculty of Elmo Sanat University from 1368 to the present. Ahmadinejad should be considered as ideologically oriented personality with strong conviction ideas of the Islamic Republic's founder, nostalgic golden era of Islamic-oriented with an emphasis on the spirit of domination. As well, their eyes focused on the Foreign Relations is required on the values of the revolution to defend the poor of the world, especially Muslims, to fight international bullies and eventually the establishment of a global Islamic community in seeking jobs and executive decision-makers supposed to be. (Azghandi, 2010, 131)

He was severely affected by Mashaei and a less percent Hamid Baghayi. To the extent that he said: "Ahmadinejad means Mashaei and Mashaei means Ahadinejad" (Www.vic.ir) Mohsen Ghorovian one of the M. MesbahYazdi's students says Ahmadinejad combination with Peripatetic philosophical interpretation, such as the composition of matter and form are inseparable in philosophy. (Www.beytoote.com) later ideology of the Group of Friends, in statements such as: halo, Iranian Islam, Chavez returned ... appears. The idea should be to talk like the world is governed Imam Zaman and he is personally guided by Imam Zaman, Or that God's grace is that I can read people's intentions, God has given me the power As well as the nuclear issues (in the tenth) also is ruled by him, these include statements which are influenced by the Group of Friends and mind, he and lack of religious scholar.

In addition to the influence of friends on the leader board, belonging to a certain faction leaders to a dialogue can be effective in his approach to decision-making in foreign policy. President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad certain tendencies of fundamentalist discourse on the country's foreign policy that even part of the substantial part of the conservatives was not accepted. Ahmadinejad beliefs of the intellectual discourse that foreign policy played its role as follows:

1. Back to the roots of the Islamic Revolution and the beginning of the revolution and Islamic slogans.
2. The Islamic Revolution is a national revolution and not the Islamic Revolution transnational and Tran's boundary nature and identity.

3. The international system is not available from the utility, and the international order should be the Muslim world.

4. According discourse doctor Ahmadinejad on justice, compassion and excellence societies not only at the domestic level, but also at the international level, which requires the international system is trying to change the established order, is.

5. Adopt aggressive foreign policy

6. Tensions and threaten jobs in the international arena for the major powers

In general, the rejection of domination and emphasize the international system free from domination of arrogant powers and renounce aggression and atrocities and injustice and abuse the great powers of the government's commitment to justice in the field of foreign policy-is. (Eivazi, 2008: 217)

Ahmadinejad's government foreign policy based on aggressive approach, stressful and challenging to replace the foreign policy of détente, peace and justice and the Islamic Republic of Iran in response to critics who adventurous and combative slogans to the detriment of the interests of National knows, Have always emphasized that firstly, their aggressive policy against the enemy (Europe and America) Passive and forced them to defend and therefore makes concessions and Secondly, the Islamic Republic of popularity and popularity in the nations of the world increases

3.3 Education and training:
In the field of political socialization the educational system is of functions such as politicizing they outthink the community, choosing political elite and their training, helping participation of political unity and gaining political awareness. Coleman (1965) believes that education is the main tool for changing attitudes and social structures and shaping new political patterns. Education can play an important role in the spread of relevant skills of political participation because the cognitive skills of school can be associated with participation (Sarepur,p.138), subjective political concepts of every individual is practically shaped in educational environments, and together with an accountability, he/she will be aware of targeted collective efforts through participating in sports, cultural, and scientific associations as an introduction to political behavior. In addition to the primary and secondary schools, university has also had a broader role and responsibility in shaping the political socialization of individuals in society. Though having a unique and independent personality; individuals are more or less under the expression influences of their masters. University graduates sometimes use templates for the issues of their concern that taught in the course of their study. Therefore, while some people do not have any presence in the decision-making process, their intellectual and theoretical templates are widely being used by others at work (Ghassemi,p.169)
Mohammad Khatami's experience in education and training can be an example of how this process may shape one's decisions in foreign policy making. He made his studies in Islamic seminaries beginning with his father at home and at Maktabkhaneh, and then he had to travel to Qom to catch the religious sciences. He then enrolled at Isfahan University in 1965 for modern education of philosophy while simultaneously continued his religious study at Isfahan Seminary. In Isfahan University he familiarized with Western liberal ideas that affected considerably on his attitudes and perceptions. Another important event in Khatami's life that helped more acquainted with modern democratic thought was his travel to Germany and his stay (1979-1980) to get custody over Islamic Center of Hamburg. This allowed him to be active in politics as well (Jebraili, 2011: p.58)

While residing in Germany, he got familiar with the ideas of Carl Puppet and Jorgen Habermas and the result was a devised plan called the "dialog among civilization", which received a global reputation in 2001 when adopted by the UN General Assembly as the Year of Dialog Among Civilizations. Deterrence in foreign policy, the expansion of civil society and the social justice within that was run in the course of his residential turn was also the result of his political socialization. In his point of view, "dialogue...is a continuation of politics but with different expression» a dialog that can be "both objective...and suitable strategy to attain it and a peaceful way to achieve peace."In fact, it was considered as" another challenge with another tool "that can be "used and better fitted for sharing and gaining advantages." (Navazeni, 2002:273) Rejecting the idea of "clash of civilization" Khatami advocated the principle of" dialogue among religions, cultures and nations". He strongly believed in the interdependence of societies, cultures and economies and supported some sort of "creative and endure foreign". He was following a foreign policy that its main characteristic was of the notion of "democratic peace of guiding jurisprudent". The Foundation of this concept was on general provision that in the international system, democracies seek peace and cooperation among each other more than any other authoritarian rule. His pacific, participating and interaction-oriented character and his moderating and tolerating behavior for the settlement of disputes, respect for the rights of all people, observing the global norms and values were mainly caused by his residing in Germany and studying the ideas of Western intellectuals. The thoughts of religious democracy had such impacts on his thought that could not think out of party decision making process and in foreign policy in particular, his approach was process oriented refusing from any sudden decisions. On the other hand, he believed that "party activists are the greater crusaders and the parties, the lost ring of the democratic development in today's society". To him "the only way to achieve a justice governance, comprehensive development and prosperity and happiness will be through political parties and this development may not be possible as long as the strong parties is yet to establish in the country. (Jamaran, 2015) He was in a concrete belief to have team decision making and strongly committed himself to consult with the leader and other heads parliament and judiciary, as well as the various party leaders.

On the other side of the coin was Ahmadinejhad. He was greatly affected by his field of study (engineering), therefore of a bipolar mentality and based on zero-one. With this mentality, the audiences are either friends or enemies and no one can stand in the middle; he did not tolerate any grey figure. His approach to the problems was mainly individual, temporary and urgent and
team working and party decision-making to him was a kind of barrier on his quick decisions and in some cases of such, they were only to achieve his own goal. An advocate of Ahmadinejhad in his presidential election of 2005 was Isargaran Jamiyat Party that was later boycotted by him and therefore unsubscribed from the party after acquiring the office. (www.yjc.ir)

To him the issues were considered as projects rather than processes thus moving step by step forward to end the mop quickly and mechanically. In a processing kind of thinking, one exclusive mind is needed for management. As an example, those ministers working for Ahmadinejhad, especially in his first course of presidency were smashed down out of fatigue as he vigorously tried to complete the puzzle pieces (AsreIran, 2011). This caused so many reactionary and prompt decisions in the field of foreign policy.
Conclusion
In assessing the role of the two Iranian Presidents in codification and formulation of the country’s foreign policy, we found what is of special importance in international relations as the level of individual or microanalysis. The leaders’ political socialization has shaped the way they take of international order. In this regard, three elements of family, peers, and also education and training, were more influential and determining than any other factors. Where the leaders in what family environment have been grown up was effective in the attitude towards foreign policy. The peers have had a significant effect on and extravagant costs for the presidents in the long term that one rarely could conceive its justification. Education and training of the presidents were of the same effectiveness in decision-making process of foreign policy. Their fields of study in humanities or engineering as well as their education inside or outside Iran were of the same importance.
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