How will a fragile trust lead to an unsustainable development? A study of trust at the age of Constitutionalism in Iran

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Abstract: Iran is facing many difficulties in the route of development and passing more than one hundred years from the first high step, it stills drags behind the name of a "developing country". One of the most important basic components in the sustainable social development is the social trust. Social trust is a grace which can save the society from paying an extravagant cost and like a constant paste can establish social ties among individual activists. Fading out the trust is in a sense a type of imposing tax on the society. Iran has always taken a step in the route of development but this development has not had the expected development and in some of the historical moments has had degrade rather than growth. In order to understand the quality of the trend of development in Iran, we have firstly dealt with the study of the Iranian social movement in which for the first time, the Iranian general demands are fulfilled within the framework of an action based on trust in association with the body of Bāzār and colorful presence of clergies. The approach of this paper for cultivating the causes of sluggish speed of the development growth in Iran is the study of the Mashruteh[1] Revolution from the viewpoint of trust culture. Thus, understanding the historical heritage of a society which confirms the competency of trust or rejects it according to its experience has been converted into the main question. Has social underdevelopment been fulfilled despite the presence of a rich historical heritage of trust (trust culture) and/or its opposite one, i.e. (distrust culture) has been prevailing? The study of the history of Persian Constitutional Revolution (Mashruteh Movement) shows that the level of trust in the concerned historical period has been in a fragile and insignificant position -which with the exception of some crucial moments- has not overpassed the intermediate levels. The significance of this revolution becomes more prominent because it has a long record of hundred years of oligarchy governments and unlimited power of the kings in possession of the peoples' heart and assets. However in these critical moments, the role of trust in the creation of social development and success of the public demand (despite the state resistance in accepting it) is to such an extent outstanding and colorful that it may not be ignored. Finally it seems that the sustainable development is subject to the quality of the trust culture in its previous age which becomes possible in the light of durability and stability.

Keywords: History, Iran, Mashruteh, Social Development, Trust

Introduction

Social development is one of the most basic concepts in the definition of the sustainable development. Today, many discussions are raised on the quality of access to sustainable development via congruence of development with environment. Our question in the first step is: how is social development fulfilled and in which way it provides preliminaries for the sustainable development?

The extended and generalized trust is one of the significant concepts in the definition of social capital and one of the main items of social development. It will be possible through this valuable standard to observe the shift of developing community into a society and thereby to cultivate the first high step of Iran towards development.

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[1] Refers to Constitutional age, Constitutional movement, also Revolution and the followers.

At present, Iran is considered a developing country. At the same time, more than forty years has passed since this naming and Iran is still in the beginning of the route of development. For this very reason, understanding the first public demand of the Iranians (after one century) from the viewpoint of the extended trust will be of specific importance.

Using the existing historical data from the Mashruteh age and resorting to the theory of Trust Culture, we will be able to achieve a new understanding of trust in more than one hundred years. Furthermore, we will be able to put forth this question whether or not; the public-oriented (generalized) trust among the historical activists of the Mashruteh Age has had a strategic role in the advancement of a shift from the Gemeinschaft community into a Gesellschaft society!

In that event, has antecedent provisions of the trust been provided for emergence? Or the conditions have been provided for the social development in short term critical moments, but have been discontinued abruptly?
This paper is initially an attempt to measure the main indexes of trust in the bed ground of the history of Mashruteh Movement, then to cultivate social development by the standard of trust and show that sustainable development will be impossible without the presence of a least rate of trust.

Materials and Methods
Theoretical Literature
Many researchers have tried to measure the situation of the extended trust in Iran in one way or another and elaborate its intensity in their target society. Samira Kalhor (1992) , Fariborz Bayat(1994) , Rafipour (1994) , Mojgan Azimi (1994) , Manouchehr Mohseni (1995) , Davoud Parchami (1995) , Salman Safdari(1995) , Masoud Chalabi(1999) , Gholamreza Ghafari(2000) and Afsaneh Kamali(2004) have evaluated the rate of social trust in Iran as to equal below the average and in many of the works, they have considered the level of extended trust as being weak.

Theoretical Foundations
Fukuyama (2006), Inglehart (1994), Coleman (2007) and Piotr Sztompka (2005) have explicitly focused on trust. Fukuyama considers social capital as equal as trust and believes that social deviations are standards confirming the lack of social capital. He thinks social capital is a secondary product of a historical common experience which practically emerges in a culture and is displayed to a society.

Inglehart (1994) allocates his main discussion on the significance of culture and considers the culture as a system of attitudes which is broadly common among the people. In his view, culture is an accumulation of knowledge which is transferred from a generation to another generation and is historicity outstanding in it.

He also believes that one of the three factors affecting the economic development is the expansion of mass public support extended to the democratic institutions and sense of trust in each other. The efforts of Colman (2007) permit to have an analysis of the method of trust formation in the smallest dimensions. In Coleman's view (2007), trust has a breaking and fragile link and it will find a possibility gradually with regard to the actions of both sides. In fact, trust makes the two sides achieve a potential benefit which was impossible in the conditions of the lack of trust.
Thus, individuals in the game of trust which is put forth by Coleman (2007), tries to keep firm the tie of trust in line with the increase of the benefits of relations in order to guarantee its own interests. Then, it provides the possibility of extension of trust as a social goodness. However, if individuals are facing a possibility of the failure of trust, they might not have a trust and they themselves will become a factor for the trust failure and finally deprive a society from having such a social goodness.

Sztompka 2005) has highlighted the historical feature of trust and speaks about the tendency of more primitive societies towards the spread of distrust too. In his view, trust is subject to the presence of a cultural backup for which no efforts have been made but it has been transferred from the past.

The conceptual framework of this paper has been made based on the theory of trust culture put by Piotr Sztompka (2005), the democratic culture of Inglehart (1994), low/micro trust of Coleman (2007).
Inglehart (1994) deals with the cultural features of development and considers the political performance and economic success subject to the cultural features of the societies. In his view, development is fully based upon the cultural bed ground of the societies and political and economic development will take shape under its influence.
Coleman (2007) shows the difficulties of creating trust in micro dimensions. Then he explains in details the method of destruction of trust and ability of its spread to others. Thus, microscopically, Coleman discusses the quality of change in the levels of trust.

Finally Sztompka presents necessary instruments to measure trust from the inner folds of the history. The trust generating (de-generating) bed grounds and the outcomes of presence (or lack of presence) of trust permitted us in this research to be able to view the history of Mashruteh Movement from the perspective of trust and present a trust-oriented narration of the Iranian Mashruteh Revolution.

Methodology

The data collection methodology includes documentary studies in which referring to the first hand and second hand historical sources, the researcher extracts data related to the research.

Hayate Yahya (2008) by Yahya Dolatabadi and History of the Awakening of Iranians [Tarikhe-e Bidariy-e Iranians] (2002) by Nazemal Eslam Kermani have formed the most important research work references. Beside these two main sources, three other outstanding books have been put forth which in a section of work, there has been reference to them.

Some other works which are the description of the same main works include My Biography (2009) [Sharh-e Zendeganiy-e Man) by Abdulah Moustofi and History of Mashruteh Revolution (2004) by Mehdi Malekzadeh and History of Iranian Mashruteh Movement (2008) by Ahmad Kasravi.

The method of assessment for the historical data is based on the comparative-historical methods of John Staurt Mill in the book entitled, "A System of Logic" (1883) and States and Social Revolutions by Theda Skocpol (1079).

In this stage, historical data have been selected in raw form based on the rate of their relation with the trust topic. The theoretical accuracy of the research to select the incidents related to trust (or distrust) is resulting from his interpretation of the main theory of the research.

In this research, the signs of trust (or distrust) and the elements of trust generating or (trust de-generating) on each historical event or a written document are evaluated and presented. Though, the researcher himself might frequently evaluates an event as something that confirms the trust (or distrust) (one of the types of trust), but depending on the ability of adaptation of the subject with the theoretical attitude mentioned in the previous chapter, efforts have been made to avoid such an incident.

Indeed, some of the incidents in the view of the researcher narrates trust (or distrust), but considering the theory of Sztompka (2005), there has not been a possibility for establishing a theoretical link with it. Hence, it has not been selected as a historical data and has been deleted from the trend of research. These types of research delicacies cause the prolongation of the process of analysis and prevents of applying a distinct among the related and unrelated data.

Many historical data in use in this research are in need of understanding the historical background of that age. Thus, the inclusion of historical background for each incident will lead to the prolongation of discussion. For this very reason, the research tries to include only the summarized and raw narration of a historical phenomenon based on trust (distrust) and limit itself to a short explanation.

Afterwards, the researcher has dealt with the analysis of the concerned historical event. Resorting to the theory related to the discussion, the researcher has been able to present his own evaluation by division. The elements of trust generation or trust de-generating and also the signs of trust and distrust have been described in details and their rate of influence has been reviewed.

Furthermore, the reference groups which have been the cause for the creation of trust or distrust have been identified by divisions and discussed. Finally, researcher has put the mentioned historical ages beside each other. Then taking into consideration their similarities and differences, he has presented his final sum up. This sum up is based on the suggested method by John Stuart Mill in studying the historical texts which is conducted in reverse inductive method or inductive deletion method, in which based on differences and similarities of the historical ages, the effective or ineffective variables are highlighted and noticed by the researcher.

A Short Review of the History of Mashruteh Movement

Naser al-Din Shah Qajar, (1847-1896) is the fourth King of Qajar dynasty and has had the longest period of ruling who was on throne for about fifty years. The end of his reign was concurrent with civil movements which finally led to the signing of the Mashruteh Decree in the age of his son ruling.

Mozaffar ad-Din Shah Qajar (1896-1906) differed from his powerful father in practice and was rarely commanding to execute the enemies and opponents. The main struggles which led to the victory of Mashruteh Movement took place in that very age, despite the fact that his son was fully against the Mashruteh reign and made every effort to remove Mashruteh.

Accordingly, Mohammad Ali Shah (1906-1909) tried to annihilate the father's heritage and could stand against it for two years. In his age, war and insecurity prevailed in Iran. Discussing the escape of Shah from Iran and the sunrise of the sovereignty of the last king of Qajar and the end of the concerned age in practice have been intended by this paper. After him, Ahmad Shah (1909-1924), the inheritor of crown and throne of Qajar came into power in adolescence age and for this very reason, the administration of the state was shifted to a vice regent. The main incidents which led to the signing of the decree for Mashruteh was started with Tobacco Régie event in which a scattered group of people were united under the leadership of a High Religious Authority and their objection came into a result.

The murder of Naser al-Din Shah Qajar occurred one decade after Tobacco ban and accelerated the trend of occurrence of Mashruteh Revolution. After that, when Mozaffar ad-Din Shah Qajar came into power, the incident of increase of the price of sugar in Tehran and punishment and insulation directed at the elder people of Bāzār[2], provided the first sparks to pull the people into the scene. Divulging a photo of Joseph Naus from Belgium with uniforms of clergies incited the peoples' heart and intensive suppression of governmental forces caused the mass killing of people in Bāzār. Two small and big refuges finally broke the resistance of the state against the people's demands and in the last days of refuge in the embassy, finally the voice of the objection of people and clergies were heard by king's ear.

The Decree of Mashruteh was signed and the sick king passed away ten days after that. Mohammad Ali Mirza, the crown prince became the ruler. Many times, he took an oath in Parliament to support the Mashruteh Movement but in fact, he did all things to remove the Mashruteh ruling.
Finally through a plan by the king himself, Tehran was captured by the Russian soldiers and the river of Mashruteh was dried temporarily. However, in a time period less than one year, with the bold resistance of people in Tabriz city, the twigs of Mashruteh advocacy -which had been intensively suppressed- began to flourish in various parts of Iran.

Two large armies from the north and south captured the capital to force the despotic Shah to escape from the country and to bring Tehran under the control of the followers of the Mashruteh Revolution.

Results and Discussion
From the Great Victory up to Disintegration

The twenty-year historical period under consideration starts from 1890 and ends in 1911. During these periods, Iran witnesses four kings which are unprecedented in the history of Iran. The beginning of this historical period is associated with the increase of demand-based movements of people and clergies which continues with intensive ups and downs by the end of the period.
If we want to deal with the increase of the public-oriented (generalized) trust and also its fall in this time span , from the viewpoint of quantity and quality (intensity) , the public-oriented(generalized) trust and also the perspective of consequences and elements of trust can be observed in four unequal periods (from the viewpoint of time). These four periods are in fact divided because of three outstanding incidents among the great series of incidents of the Mashruteh age. The signing of the Decree of Mashruteh, Shelling or Bombardment of the Parliament and Capture of Tehran.

The first period which is longer than other periods starts from the Tobacco Régie event (March 1890) and continues up to the formation of the First Parliament (October 1906). The murder of Naser al-Din Shah Qajar (May 1896) and beginning of monarchy of Mozaffar ad-Din Shah Qajar (June 1896) are in the same period which is considered as the most important incidents. The second period is associated with the death of Mozaffar ad-Din Shah Qajar (1907) and when Mohamad Ali Mirza, the Crown Prince (January 1907) comes into power which is the climax of political tension and reinforcement of the atmosphere of horror in the capital and important cities. The third period lasts from the temporary fall of Mashruteh with attack at the Parliament (June 1908) up to the capture of Tehran by the National Forces (July 1909) which has inside it the periods of resistance of Tarbiz people. The formation of the National Forces from the north and the south is in the same period which causes the fall of Mohamamd Ali Shah. The fourth period is the period of establishment of the Mashruteh system and monarchy of the son of the escaped Shah (July 1909). Disturbance among the conqueror of Tehran and apparent arrival of Russia and England into national local affairs and dissolution of the Parliament and Mashruteh take place in the same period. (For further information on these periods , see : Hayat-e Yahya , (Yahya Dolatabadi, 2008) , History of the Awakening of

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[2] The place that merchant trades merchandise in separate stores. It is one most powerful force in Persian Mashrute Revolution and other political movement in Iran's history till now.

Iranians (Nazem al Islam Kermani , 2002) , My Biography (Abdulah Moustofi 2009) , History of Iranian Mashruteh Movement (Ahmad Kasravi 2008) , and History of Mashruteh Revolution ,(Mehdi Malekzadeh, 2004).

The Failure of Trust up to its Restoration (The First Period)

The first period is a long and gradual period in which the scattered forces of people are brought together by the mostly clerical leaders. For this reason, in the beginning the people did not have much noticeable demand addressed to the government and were not asking for the reduction of the power of Shah. But when we approach to the end of this period, with the relative awareness of people, enmity against the government intensifies. The defeat of the government in Tobacco event made a closer link among guilds, clergies and a part of intellectuals (with or without clerical uniforms) which finally made the presence of people for the fulfillment of a demand though (not a so much clear one).

The first period, from this aspect is the period of the birth of collective actions for the fulfillment of a request (though an ambiguous demand in the initial stage). The period in which people learned about the significance of unity and following that the trust. This newly established trust was the product of an increasing distrust which is intensified by the then arrogant Prime Minister.
In general, the public-oriented (generalized) trust increases among the people and also the trust in clergies and Bāzār finds a noticeable rise. So, the first period, not from the viewpoint of content but from the viewpoint of final result- is a period which shows the power of trust and sympathy among people and is the period of the victory of trust.

Return of the Horror and Failure of the Trust (The Second Period)

The second period is initially associated with the victory of advocates of the Mashruteh Movement. People are optimistic towards what they have achieved, without knowing much about its quantity and quality. Even sometimes prior to the signing of the Decree of Mashruteh, the clergies, people and local Bāzār's demands had been the performance of justice (Justice House). The ineffectiveness of Parliament shows itself from the very beginning and with the arrival of the new Shah; his companions try to add fuels to the pessimistic attitudes of the people. In fact, people did not have a proper image of the Mashruteh System and the image which they used to observe was in conflict with their initial perception. Thus, the first reaction of individuals against the ineffectiveness of the new regime was its link with the former situation. This means the then regime (system) did not have a significant difference as compared with the former one and only the number of national decision makers had increased and none of them had paid attention to people's demands and conditions. These clashes finally lead to the break and failure of the trust. As the former trust was referring to Mashruteh, so that the obtained distrust included the then present situation of the Mashruteh regime too.

Thus, in the beginning of the second period, in general, the public-oriented (generalized) trust had a high growth. However to the extent we approach to the end of the period, it is replaced with distrust and it allocates the lowest position during the twenty-year period to itself. Clergies and Parliament and in general the government are the greatest references for lack of trust.

The Increasing Trust and the Great Victory (The Third Period)

The third period is in the beginning of the period of horror and terror, a period in which the leaders of the Mashruteh Movement were either in run or had been arrested and executed by the governmental agents. The trust in the government which had never reached to the middle levels had degraded more than any other time in the past. In Tehran and main states, disorder and obstinate was emerging and the trust of people in the government was fully discontinued. Mashruteh Movement used to remain alive only in Tabriz, stand about one year and constantly push back the government force. So using this short opportunity, the revolutionaries (followers of Persian Mashruteh Revolution) could reinforce their forces from all parts of the country and united to capture Tehran. Accordingly, Tabriz solely could convert disappointment (distrust) into hope (trust).

In this one year period, people versified fabulous stories about the resistance of leaders in Tabriz which moved even beyond Iranian borders and re-enlivened the hope in the return of Mashruteh which had come into its knees. The trust in the Mashruteh reaches its highest level. Tehran is captured by the National Forces and Mashrutehal Movement regained victory once again. From this perspective, the position of the despotic government of Mohammad Ali Shah is detached from the Mashruteh and the end of this period was the age of the victory of trust.

The Repetition of the History and Disintegration of the Trust (The Fourth Period)

With the arrival of the Mashruteh advocates and revolutionaries into the capital and normalization of the conditions, the conquerors mainly were seeking their shares. Also those who had unsheathed their swords against the Mashruteh became advocates of the Mashruteh and added fuels to conflict. The fourth period, despite its magnificent start was moving towards degradation. In fact, the trust which was referred to the Mashruteh in the periods of victory was gradually changing into distrust. The disturbance in the public order of the capital and intensive conflict of the conquering forces made the intensive failure of trust in the Mashruteh and trust in the government.

Consequently, the end of the fourth period is the beginning of the first period with this difference that the Government in the fourth period was weaker and unable to establish security in the country.

Conclusion

As it shown in Table 1, taking into consideration the ups and downs of the trust levels in the mentioned periods, our standard of the situation of trust in each period will be paying attention to the quality of trust in the end of each period. For this reason, the first and third periods have been the period of the victory of trust and the second and fourth periods as the periods of failure of trust.

Table 1: The quality of Trust in the Quadruple Period

Period	Trust among the beneficiaries and specific-oriented (particularized) trust	Level of public-oriented (generalized) trust	Trust of people in the Government	Trust on Mashruteh	Dependent Variable : Success of the Mashruteh	Moving towards development
First	High	Medium	Low	Medium	High	Accelerated
Second	Fragile	Low	Low	Low	Low	Stopped
Third	High	Medium	Low	High	High	Accelerated
Fourth	Fragile	Low	Low	Low	Low	Stopped

The two middle columns in the Table 1 show the trust in the Mashruteh and Government among these four periods which for the Government, it has always been low and as compared with the Mashruteh, it has been flexible.

In the stability period, the trust in Mashruteh has degraded and in the struggling period, it has increased. What seems to be more important is the people whose rate of trust in each other with regard to the interests and social status varies. That is to say, in lieu of the beneficiary groups, the individuals show different levels of trust, since it is easily possible that the alliances of today to be converted into future enemies. As a result, we are facing a society in which the interests are temporary, relations are fragile, trust is at the threshold of failure and foresight is impossible, since each moment, this situation can be reversed.

As it is seen in the column of the public-oriented (generalized) trust, the central standard of trust are always below average or very lower. The specific-oriented trust is not so noticeable, except that it reveals the rate of trust in companions.

As it is specified in the last two columns, the rate of development has a close relation with the success of the Mashruteh. Also with the reduction of public-oriented trust, the success of Mashruteh is reducing fast and is destroyed.

Analysis: How a fragile trust is converted into a heritage?

In studying the Quadruple periods, it is possible to reach a delicate pattern of conflict between distrust and trust. A pattern in which the individual decisions of activities is disappeared within the framework of collective demands and shapes its fate within a united body. Though the image of a united body might seems to be exaggerated but here it indicates the unlimited power of trust in the progress of demands which causes the former scattered group (who used to play a passive role vis-à-vis of government's decisions and requests (relatively integrated ones), now to stand beside each other and this abstract body would not be broken as long as the collective demand is not met.

But exactly at the same moment that the demands are met and the dominancy of trust against distrust is taken for granted, the personal quarrels and individual demands stand out. It is sufficient that the personal benefits of individuals not to be in one direction to make the trivial conflicts into an endless war. Common interests amid these

will cause the formation of beneficiaries who are ready to enter into fighting against the other groups interest seeking attitudes (in their own favor) and the degradation of the trust takes place in such a manner. The review of these four periods show that the trust of Iranian people in the Government in the periods between Tobacco Movement (Régie) up to two years after the capture of Tehran has always been at a low level.

The first and third periods have many important common features. In both periods, the demand of people in conflict with the government will succeed, though there are differences in details. In these two periods, trust in the leaders, in each other and in the collective request gives rise to the success of people demands, though in the first one, the movement has a reformist shape and in the second one, a fully-fledged and long battle causes the surrender of the Government.

Trust in clergies has had reference to main authorities, i.e. the clergies in favor of the government and the clergies against the government (struggling clergies). The first one included the strong pole of court clergies who spread their legitimacy among people in the long periods of Qajar dynasty and through link with the king and his relatives were close to the source spring of the wealth and power and enjoyed the social and political position. Also it was inevitable for the government which was in turn in need of the Fitwas[3] of clergies and high ranking religious authorities to keep people calm and make them satisfied.

The struggling clergies had some friends in the court in the Mashruteh period, but they were mainly avoiding a link with the King and power institutions. For this very reason, they were enjoying a specific trust and respect among the people. Part of these religious scholars (high ranking religious authorities) were outside Iran (Najaf: Scientific Capital of Shia) who were protecting the Mashruteh Movement and demands of the people at this age. Thus, despite the fact that the performance of clergies is understandable with regard to these two poles but the existence and presence of Mashruteh Movement seeking clergies gave rise to high level of trust in the spirituality institution.

The fourfold historical period which were described in details show that trust in the government in the critical periods has been low. But it allocates a higher level among the beneficiaries and communities involved in it which indicates the presence of particularized and intra-group trust. This shape of trust has an intensive similarity with the kin trust   (trust in relatives and companions) which normally includes a higher level and stands against the generalized (public-oriented) trusts.

Passing the crises and fulfillment of the public demands, the new situation could not maintain the high limit of trust which had remained from the previous period. It seems that apart from the power of success of a social movement, people find distrust or at least a low level of trust in the new government, new structure, new individuals and whatever has appeared by their demands very soon.

This low threshold for the break of trust is related to the previous social experience of the people who have never been able to find a good record for establishing trust. In other words, trust, as it was described has a cost which the one who trusts in should fully accept its risks. The successive defeat of trust in the side of the Government and emerge of social and political failures (in the previous period , Fathali Shah and Mohammad Ali Shah[4]) made the silent and passive activists not to learn the trust and more than that, to learn and spread distrust and extend it as a culture which conveys distrust.

According to Fukuyama (1995) from a quotation of Sztompka (2005), society has a rate of inherent trust which has gained it in accordance with its own experience. For this very reason, the temporary critical moments have the possibility of increase of trust, but they do not have the power to stabilize the generalized trust as a cultural attribute and after a short while, trust level returns to its low limit very fast. Then, the social development which becomes possible with the help of change of the royal sovereignty into Mashruteh royalty and consequently the formation of Parliament, faces a deadlock. The meetings of frequent discussions and debates of the pros and cons of the Mashruteh and also founders of the Mashruteh and representatives of Parliament about legislation of new rules and also bargaining with the court permits the civil society to be formed in its most initial form and trust in the newly emerged Mashruteh at the beginning increases.

Finally, the intensive intra-group tendency which was in place before within the framework of particularized trust (trust in relatives and companions), dominated over the generalized trust and the ethnic-oriented benefit seeking was dominated with the patriotic-oriented benefit seeking. Because for the then activists of the Mashruteh age, the homeland was not the Iranian borders but it was their familiar quarter and district. The game of trust which had been

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[3] Judgment, sentence

[4] The second and third kings of Qajar dynasty

explained by Coleman (2007) in details, had a twist such that fear of defeat of trust was the final victor vis-à-vis benefit of trust. Consequently, the Iranian society could not institutionalize the generalized trust in itself.

It can be concluded that it had no power to bear this transit and thus, it is very hard to apply the title of society to it. So, development is a missing circle which passing into it does not occur.

Analysis: Understanding the Incentive of the Action: Livelihood or Spirituality

The date of the beginning of discussion of this paper is associated with the last decade of the government of Naser al-Din Shah Qajar in which the most powerful king of Qajar rules over the land for about fifty years, a territory which is known as Iran today. Iran in that age was a backward country from the viewpoint of scientific and intellectual progress. With the exception of news of victories and defeats of military forces of the neighboring or distant countries, people had a very limited access to the information and news of the surrounding world. For example, in large cities such as Tehran, Tabriz and Isfahan, the only instrument for information was telegraph which had been installed by the British agents to facilitate their own communications to protect their ties with India against Russia in the First World War. So, the vital priorities of people in Iran were attention to the livelihood (food only not to die) and also spirituality.

Insecurity was one of the main reasons which made the people have full attention to livelihood and spirituality. Because in their historical memory, the weakness of the Government and lack of power gave rise to the advocates of power and trampling of cities and villages under the hoof of horses of gunmen. As in the text of the history of the Mashruteh, the campaign of governmental forces to Tabriz and Tehran could not be possible without promise to plunder.

Thus, the experience of living within that period demands a rationality; remains alive and in the next stage, acquires salvation which the duty of religiosity is summarized in it. Spirituality becomes more colorful when the regular life is pregnant to ruinous incidents. When the future is placed in an aura of ambiguity, paying attention to religious concepts which gives promises for an afterworld of fertile and without concern finds a double attraction. Spirituality and salvation are the roots of power which the clergies had enjoyed it during the Mashruteh Movement and in the field of battles; its weight was used at the benefit of the Mashruteh victory.

Understanding the collective action of the Iranians in the Tobacco Régie event will become possible in the light of this awareness of the hereafter livelihood passive people. It is not possible to have trust in a government that according to the experience attaches significance only to its own tax and treasury. Though the legitimacy of the Shah with the motif of divine glory has still validity. For the Iranian people, confidence and also trust in unknown and worlds around is associated with an aura of horror.

But distrust has another direction too, a direction which makes the unknown as a security-generating and more ideal phenomenon as compared with the then status quo. One of the important reasons for the primary victory of the Mashruteh Movement in Iran can be referred to understanding this point that the unknown concept of Mashruteh was being spread by the opposing preachers and clergies to the government. Sztompka (2005) terms this process as the externalization of the trust. When Mozaffar ad-Din Shah Qajar, came into power and also Eyn-ed-Dowleh the Prime Minister, the clergies who had greater reconciliation with the former king, became opponent to the then new king. The carelessness of the Prime Minister disrupted the situation of Bāzār and people in particular, Tehran's people stood against the government. Though the concept of Mashruteh stands out in the middle of the road, but in order to facilitate and avoid any prolongation of discussion, we use the term "constitutionalist" to the opponents of the government as the historians did too.

The power of Bāzār represents the significant of livelihood and the power of clergies represents the significance of religious laws. The third top of the opposing power of the government include refuge and closing down the Bāzār that each of them refers to one of the tops of the mentioned triangle (see Fig. 1). Notwithstanding, in a general view, people have never been unmixed and part of them have always been pros and cons of the Mashruteh but with regard to the activities of people in the field of Mashruteh Revolution, the main part of these active people had been opponent to the government in the beginning of the Mashruteh Revolution.
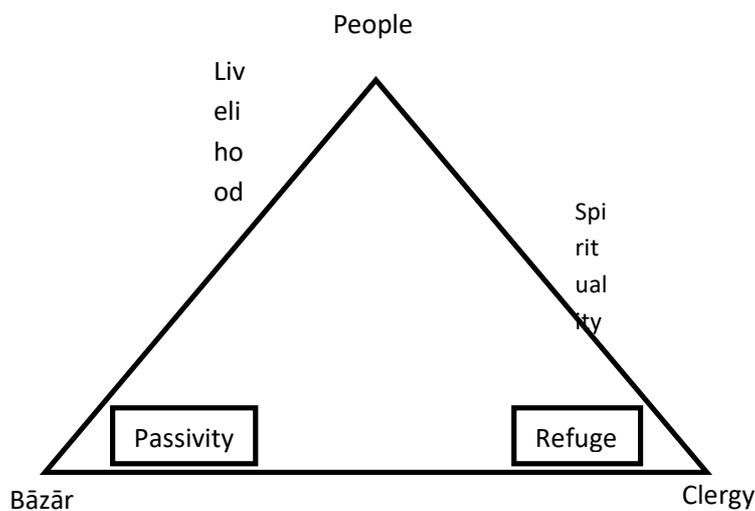
Figure 1: The Triangle Of unity

The importance of livelihood and spirituality holds two positions. The first one is that the (livelihood) determines the first references of the trust, which according to the Coleman's (2007) discussion, the relations based on trust are taking shapes and /or oppositely, due to constant failure of trust, they avoid trusting in someone or something. The prevalence of the second one (spirituality) shows the lack of interest of the society in the secular relations and thus spirituality as was discussed by Sztompka (2005) acts as an alternative function, to not only confirm the fragility of the trust, but also associate it with a peace of mind which could have been provided in the event of presence of trust.

Analysis: A Fragile Trust, a Factor for Unsustainable Development

The lack of trust causes alternative functions to be created to compensate trust and facilitate. These very alternative functions direct us to a deeper observation of trust. In fact, certainty, predictability, order and others are among the functions which are obtained in the event of lack of trust. But concerning the Iranian society, will it be possible to consider the pre-Mashruteh period as the period of stability of trust? Definitely, Not, because even in decades after that period, the political ups and downs and twist of the game of power among the inner conflicting forces, the share asked by Russia and England and the war of power between these two countries, brings the integration of political system under main changes. If we could not see trust in a long period in Iran, then it is better to use the phrase of Pre-Trust Society which has not been still placed in the route of development. A society which has not find fully the ideality of trust and tries in the demarcations of the incidents of the Mashruteh Revolution and after that to achieve a more suitable understanding of it.

Trust in a macro level can tells us whether or not Iran in that period has had the requirements to be called a society. Because before establishment of the society, it will inevitably need a great rate of trust, otherwise, it will be in form of a scattered society of individual activists who agrees upon short term interests. Trust is still impossible, though we might find traces of trust in complex shapes in historical periods with long stability.

But considering Iran at the Mashruteh age, society is mostly similar to single categories of people who have agreed upon their interests temporarily. Indeed, the trust which in mid-term will convert the political conflicts into political bargain and finally a minimum agreement to achieve the interests is of the type of generalized (public-oriented) trust. A kind of a generalized trust which mostly smells modernity and is directed as the recognition of the individuality of individuals within the framework of a collective spirit.

For this very reason, trust itself is subject to the presence of bed grounds and of course paving grounds for the emergence of actions which finally will provide the possibility of the construction of the society. Development is the final product of trust which will find possibility to emerge, provided that it could be continued for a long time, exactly as if in the relatively short periods, the trust of pseudo-development in social and political atmosphere is made in the society.

From this aspect, trust does not function as an independent concept and in the quantity-oriented attitude, it is a dependent variable but determinant. Thus, the Iranian people at the age of Mashruteh try to find out the significance of the collective action and unification of demands through their struggles against monarchy and to percept it as a social goodness. Moreover, the Mashrute's activists make every effort to orient a geography which was earlier scattered, ethnic-oriented and merely a livelihood- seeking one into a clear social identity. An identity which through efforts of one decade had reached an achievement even temporarily. This collective identity which finds the possibility of emergence with the glue of trust, is the Iranian society which undergoes serious international changes and is even disrupted temporarily.

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