



Feasibility of Strengthening the Foundations of Good Governance through the Establishment of a Parliamentary System in the Islamic Republic of Iran

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ABSTRACT

The present study aims to identify the constraints prevailing over the establishment of good governance and the parliamentarization of the Islamic Republic system in Iran's positive laws, by examining the impact of establishing a parliamentary system on strengthening the foundations of good governance in Iran. The researcher believes that establishing a parliamentary system can serve as an effective strategy for strengthening these foundations and realizing popular government. Although this change may introduce new challenges and consequences in the governmental structure, a thorough examination of these effects and their feasibility can pave the way for improving governance in Iran's political system. Currently, Iran's political system is recognized as a semi-presidential-semi-parliamentary system, and the existing electoral systems have been shaped in accordance with this arrangement over the past few decades. However, to fully realize the components of good governance, it appears necessary to create and implement an indigenous model of an electoral system. The transition from the current presidential-parliamentary system toward a parliamentary system requires the design of a specific electoral system. The electoral system plays a significant role in shaping and influencing components such as rule of law, participation, accountability, responsiveness, transparency, and effectiveness; at the same time, its success also depends on the proper functioning of these components. This research, conducted using an analytical-descriptive method, shows that under current conditions, changing the political system to a parliamentary one is not feasible, and this matter requires field studies, further research, and dialogue with officials in this arena to prepare the ground for the possibility of such a change in the future.

Introduction

Governance defined as the implementation of rules, review, monitoring, and application of feedback, along with the exercise of legitimate authority, in order to achieve a common goal for all actors and stakeholders within the framework of values and norms in the environment of an organization or a country (1). Based on this definition, the formulation of laws and processes that influence policymaking and the way actors and stakeholders participate in the policymaking and exercise of power is part of governance responsibilities.

The success of governance is typically measured by indicators such as the achievement of values, satisfaction, the expansion of justice, curbing corruption, participation, accountability, and the like. Good governance is closely related to

democracy and democratic processes (2), and in better terms, it is a set of practical criteria and indicators of democratic political systems in procedural, structural, and substantive dimensions. On the other hand, the realization of this concept and democratic sovereignty requires democratic and republican government (3).

The principle of separation and interaction of powers, as an organizational principle, serves human rights and freedoms and, by distributing and decentralizing political authority, creates an accountable, transparent, and law-bound system.

In this way, good governance has a strong connection with the type of governmental structure, and democratic structures are among the preconditions for good governance (4).

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The constitution in any country, while defining the fundamental principles, structure, hierarchy, position, and limits of state political power, determines and guarantees citizens' rights and regulates power relations. Good governance is a new discourse defined by components such as rule of law, participation, accountability, responsiveness, transparency, and effectiveness, which has received attention in recent years. This indicates that each of the components of good governance has been emphasized in various ways in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and in practice, we have witnessed fluctuations in these indicators after the revolution. However, the realization of the components of good governance suggests that its implementation requires an indigenous model in the country (5).

Political systems, both before and after the revolution, have consistently viewed the distribution of power as a threat and have restricted the freedom of political parties and civil organizations. Moving toward sustainable development and the observance of citizenship rights and the rule of law constitutes the fundamental basis for achieving good governance in Iran.

In recent governance studies, attention has mainly focused on issues such as the fragmentation of power among governmental and supra-governmental levels, encouraging decentralization from the state, and relying on citizen participation. The Islamic governance model in the Islamic Republic of Iran can be described and explained through themes such as "God's sovereignty," "revelation-orientation," "Sharia-orientation," "Islamic ethics," and "Imamate and Velayat." However, the good governance model is characterized by themes such as "rule of law," "individual accountability," "transparency," "efficiency," and "responsiveness" as fundamental principles of governance (6).

Good Governance: Concept, Pillars, and Foundations

The Concept of Governance: Governance is an emerging concept in the social sciences, particularly in the field of public administration, which has recently attracted considerable attention. This concept, though rooted in the past, is now proposed as a new approach to managing state and societal affairs. The term governance means the effective and efficient administration and management of society and is widely used in various contexts such as local, global, and environmental governance (7). With increasing public frustration with government performance in addressing social challenges, traditional theories of public administration have been reconsidered. In response to this challenge, several alternative theories have been proposed, and among them, the theory of public governance has emerged as an acceptable and innovative approach.

By focusing on participation and cooperation among the state, civil society, and the private sector, this theory seeks to provide more comprehensive solutions to social issues. The United Nations Development Programme defines good governance as an effort to establish the rule of law, transparency, accountability, and equal participation in political, economic, and administrative power. Indeed, good governance goes beyond merely increasing efficiency and effectiveness and also ensures legitimacy and legality.

Pillars of Good Governance: Good governance emphasizes cooperation and interaction among three pillars: the state, civil institutions, and the private sector. This cooperation leads to better and more efficient management of public affairs and has impacts on economic, political, and administrative dimensions. Each of these institutions has a distinct role:

- ✓ **Civil institutions:** Defend citizens' rights and strengthen public participation in policymaking.
- ✓ **Private sector:** As the engine of the economy, it is responsible for the growth of gross national product and the improvement of societal welfare.
- ✓ **The state:** As a facilitator, it plays a key role in sustainable development by providing suitable conditions (8).

Legal Foundations of Good Governance: The theory of good governance is an approach aimed at achieving sustainable development and improving the economic conditions of societies. From a legal perspective, this theory outlines the principles and foundations of just and democratic governments. By defining specific indicators and criteria, this theory paves the way for the establishment of democracy and justice in societies. The principles of the theory of good governance, such as social contract, responsible exercise of power, provision of public services, and sustainable development, constitute the foundational bases for the formation of ideal governments in contemporary public law thought.

Parliamentary System: Concept, Advantages, and Disadvantages

Concept of the Parliamentary System: The parliamentary system is a form of democracy in which the executive branch derives its legitimacy from the legislative branch and is accountable to it. This system is based on a relative separation of powers, wherein the executive and legislative branches have mechanisms to influence one another. In this regime, the head of state and the head of the executive are two distinct persons. The head of state whether in parliamentary republics like Ireland and Germany, or in constitutional monarchies such as the United Kingdom and Japan plays a ceremonial

and symbolic role, while executive responsibility rests with the head of the executive, typically the Prime Minister (9).

In this system, cabinet members can participate in legislation, and the parliament can oversee government performance through instruments such as questioning, interpellation, and votes of no confidence.

Advantages of the Parliamentary System:

- ✓ **Coordination and Unity in Government Structure:** A prominent advantage of the parliamentary system is the reduction of tension and conflict between the executive and legislative branches. When the parliament and the government hold differing intellectual perspectives, disagreements become more apparent. Proponents of the parliamentary system argue that implementing this system can resolve this issue.
- ✓ **Compatibility of Republicanism with Parliamentarism:** One of the advantages of the parliamentary system is the strengthening and institutionalization of democratic culture. The Constitution of the Islamic Republic, based on specific principles, emphasizes the republican nature of the system. Proponents of the parliamentary system believe that this system does not conflict with republicanism and, citing the Constitution, consider it compatible with democratic principles.
- ✓ **Participation and Utilization of Diverse Party Capacities:** Unlike the presidential system, the parliamentary system allows for the presence and participation of a wide range of groups.

Disadvantages of the Parliamentary System:

- ✓ **Concentration of Power in Parties:** Strengthening parties leads to the concentration of power in their hands, and final decision-making moves away from the people to the parties.
- ✓ **Government Instability:** In the parliamentary system, the parliament has the power to dissolve the government, which can lead to government instability. In multi-party parliamentary systems, coalition governments are formed, and potential disagreements among coalition parties can lead to the fall of the government and the formation of new coalitions (10).
- ✓ **Weakness in Countries Lacking an Organized Party System:** In a parliamentary system, the parliament becomes an arena for conflicts among

various groups, resulting in weak and unstable governments.

The Political System of the Islamic Republic of Iran: Structure and Pathology

Structure of Iran's Political System: The existing system in the Islamic Republic of Iran is semi-presidential–semi-parliamentary. The President is elected by popular vote according to Article 117 of the Constitution, and selects ministers and introduces them to the parliament to obtain a vote of confidence. Additionally, the entire cabinet is under parliamentary supervision and must be accountable. The presidency of the cabinet rests with the President, who oversees the ministers' work according to Article 134 of the Constitution. Under the Constitution, the leadership of the country is vested in the Supreme Leader, who holds extensive powers and authority. Article 110 of the Constitution introduces the Leader as the highest state authority, with supervision and oversight over all affairs. These powers include oversight of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches. Indeed, one of the main obstacles to establishing a full parliamentary system in Iran is precisely this expansive power and authority of the Leadership (11).

Pathology of Iran's Political System: Some analysts believe that the structure of the executive branch in the Constitution is somewhat dualistic, and given the roles of the Leader and the President, this perspective highlights the complexities of Iran's political system. In recent years, we have witnessed the weakening of the parliament's position vis-à-vis the executive branch. According to the Constitution, the parliament has powerful oversight instruments to control the government, but in practice, these powers are not always properly exercised. Among the problems of Iran's political system are the following:

- ✓ Lack of a strong political vision and culture among the people.
- ✓ Elections and selections often lack a national and comprehensive perspective.
- ✓ The absence of strong and efficient parties leads to weak political participation.
- ✓ Failure to utilize the potential of rival groups and parties.
- ✓ Lack of coordination between the executive and legislative branches.

Feasibility of Establishing a Parliamentary System in Iran

The View of Opponents of the Parliamentary System: Opponents of the parliamentary system cite the following reasons for their opposition to parameterization:

- ✓ **Behavioral, Not Structural, Problem:** They believe that the most important issue today is behavioral and unrelated to structure. For example, when a

bill becomes law in parliament and the executive refuses to implement it due to opposition, this is a behavioral problem.

- ✓ **The Current Structure Is Appropriate:** They argue that the current structure is suitable and that the Constitution has specified everything; if problems arise in practice, they are due to non-implementation of the laws.
- ✓ **Weakening the Republican Character of the System:** In the Constitution, republicanism and Islami city are among the unchangeable principles, and parameterization would diminish the republican nature of the system. Given the institution of the Guardianship of the Jurist (Velayat-e Faqih), it is essentially impossible to create a parliamentary system in the true sense of the word (12).

The View of Proponents of the Parliamentary System: Proponents cite the following reasons in favor of parameterization:

- ✓ **Enhancing the Status of the Parliament:** This would elevate the parliament's standing and create greater discipline in the country's structure. In such a system, less time would be spent on coordinating the branches and on conflicts between the executive and legislative branches.
- ✓ **Greater Efficiency:** Although the current structure is suitable, since in practice we have not seen the full potential of this law realized across different periods, a parliamentary system, in addition to better oversight of executive performance, would demonstrate greater efficiency.
- ✓ **Reviving the Parliamentary System Benefits the System:** Reasons such as disputes between the executive and legislature and the need to prevent the emergence of dual sovereignty in Iran's political system are among the effective factors in choosing a parliamentary system.

Obstacles to Establishing a Parliamentary System in Iran: Based on the findings of this research, the main obstacles to establishing a parliamentary system in Iran are:

- ✓ Weakness and ineffectiveness of political parties: This leads to a lack of cohesion and unity among representatives.
- ✓ Outdated and ineffective electoral laws: The general public's negative attitude toward parties exacerbates this difficult situation.
- ✓ Influence of local and regional factors: National considerations are overshadowed, and local and regional factors have become

more prominent in the election process for the Islamic Consultative Assembly (Majlis) (13).

- ✓ Weakness of the media and restrictions on free access to information.
- ✓ Incompatibility of the system of Velayat-e Faqih with the principles of a parliamentary republic: The combination of national and divine sovereignty in Iran's Constitution makes compatibility with a parliamentary system difficult.
- ✓ The role of the Guardian Council as a deterrent: This role conflicts with the principles of a parliamentary system, which emphasize broad powers for representatives.

Requirements and Strategies for Establishing a Parliamentary System

Cultural and Social Requirements: One essential step is preparing public opinion and the culture of society for accepting a party system. The negative historical record of party activities in Iran has meant that there is no trust or positive attitude toward parties. As long as this attitude is not reformed, moving toward a parliamentary system will be difficult (14). Cultural groundwork includes the following:

- ✓ Existence of a culture of tolerance and acceptance of political pluralism.
- ✓ The prevalent self-righteousness among Iranians in political activities and weakness in accepting others' views.
- ✓ Shifting disagreements from the ideological realm to differences over programs.

Legal and Structural Reforms: Structural changes are necessary, especially in the Constitution:

- ✓ **Reform of the Party Law:** Consolidating laws and laying the groundwork for the formation of a genuine and efficient two-party system at both national and local levels. The financial transparency of parties regarding income and expenditures should be precisely stipulated in that law.
- ✓ **Reform of the Electoral System:** Fair distribution of seats according to population and proportionality, and the creation of a comprehensive electoral system (15).
- ✓ **Constitutional Reform:** Changing from a semi-presidential–semi-parliamentary system to a parliamentary system, which pertains to the macro-structures of government, must be carried out through constitutional amendment according to Article 177.

Scenarios for Changing the Political System:

Given the structural constraints on establishing a parliamentary system in Iran, three scenarios are conceivable:

- ✓ **British-style Parliamentary System:** The parliament has direct legitimacy, and the government emerges from within the parliament. The head of state plays a symbolic role. This scenario does not align with the constitutional legal structure of the country.
- ✓ **Semi-Parliamentary System:** The executive branch is dual, consisting of a President and a Prime Minister. The Prime Minister is elected through parliament, while the President is elected through direct popular vote (16).
- ✓ **Quasi-Parliamentary System:** The presidency is abolished, and the position of Prime Minister is created, who is elected by parliament. The Leader's constitutional powers are preserved. This scenario appears more feasible for examination given the public law structure of the Islamic Republic.

Discussion and Analysis

Theoretical Framework of the Research: The Relationship between Good Governance and the Parliamentary System:

Good governance, as a normative and value-laden concept, has become one of the central pillars of development discourse at the international level in recent decades. This concept, promoted by institutions such as the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme, emphasizes components such as participation, the rule of law, transparency, accountability, responsiveness, effectiveness, and justice. However, what is emphasized in this research is that good governance is not a one-size-fits-all prescription for all societies, and its realization requires localization based on the cultural, historical, social, and political conditions of each country.

In this regard, the fundamental question that the present study seeks to answer is whether the establishment of a parliamentary system in the Islamic Republic of Iran can serve as an effective strategy for achieving good governance. To answer this question, it is first necessary to analyze the relationship between the type of political system and governance efficiency (17).

Political systems, based on the distribution of power and the relationship between the legislative and executive branches, are divided into three main categories: presidential, parliamentary, and mixed (semi-presidential-semi-parliamentary).

In parliamentary systems, the executive branch emerges from within the legislative branch and is accountable to it. This naturally leads to greater

coordination between the two branches and prevents the institutional conflicts that are common in presidential and mixed systems. On the other hand, in parliamentary systems, the role of political parties as intermediaries between the people and the government is more prominent, which can lead to increased political participation and accountability. With this description, there appears to be a significant theoretical alignment between the parliamentary system and the components of good governance. The parliamentary system, by emphasizing the central role of parliament as the people's elected body, can provide a suitable foundation for realizing components such as participation, accountability, and the rule of law. However, the question is whether this theoretical alignment is also realizable within the context of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Analysis of the Political Structure of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Light of Good Governance:

The political system of the Islamic Republic of Iran, according to the Constitution ratified in 1979 and amended in 1989, is a mixed system with unique characteristics. This system can be described as a semi-presidential-semi-parliamentary system in which the President is directly elected by popular vote while also being accountable to parliament. However, what distinguishes this system from other mixed systems is the position and extensive authority of the Guardianship of the Jurist (*Velayat-e Faqih*), which, according to Article 110 of the Constitution, is considered the highest state authority with oversight over all affairs (18).

This dual structure, on the one hand, allows for popular participation through presidential and parliamentary elections, and on the other hand, places overall supervision and guidance of the system in the hands of the Leadership. However, the practical experience of recent decades has shown that this structure faces serious challenges in realizing the components of good governance.

The Challenge of Political Participation:

Although the Constitution of the Islamic Republic emphasizes popular participation in determining one's destiny, and principles such as Article 6 stipulate that the affairs of the country shall be administered through public opinion, in practice, political participation in Iran faces obstacles and limitations. The absence of strong and efficient parties is one of the most important of these obstacles. In the absence of organized parties, elections, instead of being programmatic competition among parties, become competition among individuals and political factions that lack clear and coherent programs. This situation not only reduces the quality of political participation but also causes parliamentary representatives to act as representatives of local, ethnic, or factional interests

rather than as representatives of parties and their programs. This severely reduces the efficiency of parliament as a legislative and oversight body and makes it difficult to realize components such as accountability and responsiveness (19).

The Challenge of Accountability and Transparency: Another fundamental challenge facing Iran's political system on the path to good governance is the issue of accountability. In the current system, although parliament has various oversight instruments, including questioning, interpellation, and investigations, in practice, these tools are not fully and effectively utilized. Several reasons can be cited for this situation:

First, the President, as head of the executive branch, is directly elected by popular vote, which gives him independent legitimacy from parliament. As a result, the President may consider himself less accountable to parliament, and this creates one of the most important grounds for conflict and tension between the two branches (20).

Second, in the current structure, the accountability of the executive branch to parliament is not only a legal obligation but also a political game in which parliamentary representatives, due to party, factional, and local affiliations, may refrain from fully exercising oversight over the government. This situation intensifies especially during periods when the parliament and the government are aligned, and parliamentary oversight of the government effectively becomes a ceremonial affair.

Third, in the current system, transparency in various dimensions of political and economic decision-making faces serious challenges. Secrecy in financial matters, non-disclosure of officials' assets, and restrictions on access to information are among the factors that have made transparency one of the most neglected components of governance in Iran.

The Challenge of the Rule of Law and Corruption Control: One of the most important indicators of good governance is the rule of law and corruption control. In Iran, despite the Constitution's emphasis on the rule of law, the phenomenon of law evasion has become a serious social problem. The roots of this problem can be traced to several factors:

- ✓ Weakness of the culture of legalism: In Iranian society, for historical and cultural reasons, legalism has not been institutionalized as a social and moral value. Many people view the law not as a binding and just rule, but as an obstacle to personal interests.
- ✓ Non-uniform application of the law to all: In Iran, the law is not applied equally to all citizens, and some influential individuals and officials are immune from penalties for law evasion. This results from personal relationships and power networks that

allow certain individuals to evade the law (21).

- ✓ Lack of transparency in judicial and administrative processes: The absence of transparency paves the way for corruption and law evasion. In the absence of clear and accessible information, public oversight of the performance of officials and institutions becomes extremely difficult, and this fuels the spread of corruption and injustice.

The Parliamentary System as a Strategy for Realizing Good Governance

In light of the above challenges, the question arises as to whether the establishment of a parliamentary system can resolve the existing problems on the path to achieving good governance. In answering this question, the advantages and disadvantages of this system must be examined within the framework of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Advantages of the Parliamentary System for Iran:

The first and most important advantage of the parliamentary system is the reduction of conflicts and tensions between the executive and legislative branches. In a parliamentary system, the government emerges from within parliament and is accountable to it. This structural coordination prevents many of the institutional conflicts we witness in the current system and allows for a focus on development and progress programs (22).

The second advantage is strengthening the role and efficiency of parliament. In the parliamentary system, parliament, as the most important political institution, plays a central role in determining and overseeing the government. This leads to increased efficiency and effectiveness of parliament as a legislative and oversight body and facilitates the realization of components such as accountability and transparency. The third advantage is reducing the heavy costs of presidential elections. In the current system, every few years, enormous sums are spent on holding presidential elections, much of which is funded from the public treasury. These costs are significantly reduced in the parliamentary system, and financial resources are directed toward developmental and infrastructural projects. The fourth advantage is the possibility of benefiting from the capacities of parties and political elites. In the parliamentary system, the government is formed from among parties and political groups, which leads to improved managerial quality and a reduction in subjective and personality-driven decision-making.

Challenges of the Parliamentary System for Iran:

Alongside its numerous advantages, the parliamentary system also faces challenges that, if not properly addressed, may not only fail to solve

existing problems but may also add to their complexity (23).

The first and most important challenge is the position and authority of the Guardianship of the Jurist (Velayat-e Faqih). In the current system, the Guardianship of the Jurist, as the highest state authority, holds extensive powers in various areas. Establishing a parliamentary system requires a redefinition of the role and position of the Leadership within the political system. Otherwise, we may witness overlapping authorities and new conflicts among various institutions that would surpass even the complexities of the current system. The second challenge is the weakness of political culture and the absence of strong parties in Iran. As previously noted, a parliamentary system without organized and efficient parties may become an arena for factional conflicts and personal interests, and rather than leading to increased efficiency and accountability, it may exacerbate the system's inefficiency. A clear example of this situation can be seen during the period when the parliamentary system was in place in Iran (before the constitutional amendment of 1989). During that period, due to weak parties and the lack of an appropriate political culture, the parliamentary system not only failed to solve the country's problems but itself became one of the factors of instability and inefficiency. The third challenge is the lack of appropriate legal and institutional infrastructure for establishing a parliamentary system. Changing the political system from its current state to a parliamentary system requires fundamental reforms in the Constitution and ordinary laws. These reforms, in addition to imposing heavy political and social costs, require a broad consensus among political forces and elites in the country, which, under current circumstances, appears difficult to achieve (24).

The Desirable Model: The Velayat-Based Parliamentary System

Considering the aforementioned advantages and challenges, it appears that establishing a parliamentary system in Iran is not feasible or desirable in a complete form conforming to Western models, but rather in an indigenized manner suited to the country's cultural, historical, and political conditions. This model, which may be termed the "Velayat-based Parliamentary System," emphasizes the combination of parliamentary principles with the foundations of Islamic governance and the position of the Guardianship of the Jurist (Velayat-e Faqih). In this model, the following principles are taken into account:

- ✓ **Preserving the Leadership's position as Head of State:** In the Velayat-based parliamentary system, the Leadership, as the highest state authority and overseer of the proper implementation of the system's general policies, retains its role. However,

to prevent overlapping authorities, the scope of the Leadership's executive powers is limited, and their role is primarily confined to macro-guidance and oversight of the proper execution of laws (25).

- ✓ **Election of the Prime Minister by Parliament:** In this model, the head of the executive branch (the Prime Minister) is elected by parliament and is accountable to it. This increases coordination and alignment between the executive and legislative branches and prevents institutional conflicts.
- ✓ **Strengthening the Party System:** Establishing a Velayat-based parliamentary system requires strengthening the party system and increasing the efficiency of political parties. Parties, as intermediaries between the people and the government, play an essential role in increasing political participation, accountability, and transparency (26).
- ✓ **Reforming the Electoral System:** To realize the Velayat-based parliamentary system, electoral reform is essential. These reforms include equitable distribution of parliamentary seats based on population, increasing transparency in the electoral process, and creating effective mechanisms for overseeing the performance of representatives.
- ✓ **Redefining the Relationship between the Powers:** In the Velayat-based parliamentary system, the relationships among the three branches of government are redefined based on the principles of separation of powers while observing the principle of oversight and balance. The judiciary, as an independent and impartial institution, maintains its role in ensuring the rule of law and protecting citizens' rights (27).

Obstacles and Strategies for Establishing a Parliamentary System in Iran

Main Obstacles: Based on the findings of this research, the most important obstacles to establishing a parliamentary system in Iran are:

- ✓ **Legal Obstacles:** Changing the political system requires fundamental reforms in the Constitution. These reforms, particularly in the articles concerning the position of the Leadership, the powers of the President, and the method of selecting the executive branch, require broad consensus and strong political will, which, under current circumstances, faces numerous difficulties (28).

- ✓ **Socio-Cultural Obstacles:** Weak political culture, lack of public trust in parties, and the non-institutionalization of a culture of legalism are among the most important cultural obstacles to establishing a parliamentary system. Changing these cultural patterns requires time and careful, sustained planning (29).
- ✓ **Political Obstacles:** The lack of consensus among political forces and elites regarding the necessity and manner of changing the political system is one of the most significant political obstacles. Under current circumstances, due to deep factional and political divisions, achieving consensus in this area appears very difficult.
- ✓ **Structural Obstacles:** The existence of powerful institutions such as the Guardianship of the Jurist, the Guardian Council, and the Expediency Discernment Council, each with its own specific role and position in the political structure, presents numerous structural difficulties for establishing a parliamentary system. Redefining the role and position of these institutions in a parliamentary system is one of the most important challenges ahead (30).

Practical Strategies: To overcome the above obstacles and move toward establishing a parliamentary system in Iran, the following strategies are proposed:

- ✓ **Cultural Groundwork:** Strengthening political culture and increasing public awareness of the advantages and disadvantages of different political systems. This is achievable through education, the media, and cultural institutions.
- ✓ **Strengthening the Party System:** Reforming the party law and creating the necessary conditions for the formation and activity of strong and efficient parties. Financial transparency of parties and increased oversight of their performance are among the essential measures in this regard (31).
- ✓ **Gradual Constitutional Reform:** Instead of sudden and comprehensive changes, gradual and step-by-step reforms to the Constitution that pave the way for the establishment of a parliamentary system. These reforms should be carried out with the participation of elites and experts, taking into account the country's conditions and requirements (32).
- ✓ **Testing Hybrid Models:** Before fully implementing a parliamentary system, it is

possible to test hybrid and semi-parliamentary models that entail the least structural and legal costs and are most compatible with existing conditions.

- ✓ **National Dialogue:** Holding comprehensive national dialogues among political forces, elites, and experts to reach a consensus on the necessity and manner of changing the political system. These dialogues should be based on the principles of rationality, tolerance, and mutual respect (33).

In light of the above, it can be concluded that the parliamentary system, despite its significant advantages in realizing good governance, is currently a difficult and costly structural change in the Islamic Republic of Iran. However, this does not mean despairing of the possibility of change; rather, it underscores the necessity of careful, step-by-step planning to prepare the required groundwork (34).

Changing the political system, especially in societies with a rich historical and cultural background like Iran, requires time, patience, and prudence. Moving toward a parliamentary system is not a formulaic and imported change, but a gradual and indigenized process that must be carried out while considering all cultural, social, political, and legal aspects of the country (35).

Finally, it must be emphasized that the ultimate goal of any structural change and reform is the realization of good governance and the improvement of citizens' quality of life. Any model that can contribute to this lofty goal is worthy of examination and trial. On this path, the parliamentary system, with its emphasis on the central role of parliament as the people's elected body and strengthening components such as participation, accountability, transparency, and the rule of law, can serve as an effective strategy to pave the way for the realization of good governance in the Islamic Republic of Iran. However, achieving this requires strong political will, national consensus, and careful, long-term planning. It is hoped that through the determination and efforts of all who care about the system and the country, we may one day witness its realization.

Conclusion

Good governance is a model evaluated and recognized by indicators such as accountability, responsiveness, the rule of law, corruption control, transparency, and so on. Good governance is not a model that emerges in a vacuum; rather, civil society and democratic structure are among the contexts for its formation.

Comparing the role and position of the parliament within the scope of the Guardianship of the Jurist's authority, it is clear that the current Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran does not have the capacity for a parliamentary system. To achieve this regime, in addition to creating appropriate

intellectual and political spaces and strengthening important elements such as partisanship and elections, a significant number of the existing constitutional principles must be amended. The results of this research show:

First: Essentially, under the current circumstances, and given the quality of the laws and, in particular, the arrangement of power in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic, establishing a parliamentary system requires fundamental changes in many constitutional principles. The formal capacity for such a change exists within the Constitution; however, despite various discussions on this matter, a genuine will for such a structural change is still not observed.

Second: The author considers such a change possible for various reasons and, in particular, necessary from the perspective of the need to move toward a good governance system.

Third: Establishing a parliamentary system requires indigenization and attention to certain structural and substantive considerations of the Islamic Republic system and the target political society, the most important of which is the necessity of adhering to the Islamic character of the system, as well as the specific form of republicanism and the requirements of religious governance in Iran. In addition, public values and beliefs must also be given special attention.

Fourth: In the author's view, assuming the realization of a parliamentary system, one could witness the strengthening of the foundations of good governance for several reasons. A government emerging from parliament in the form of a Prime Minister would have greater accountability to the parliament as representatives of the people, and thus the principles of accountability and responsibility, as fundamental pillars of good governance, would be guaranteed under this assumption. With the establishment of a parliamentary system, the confusion of a dual-headed executive, which can provide grounds for corruption and lack of accountability, would effectively be eliminated.

In conclusion, transitioning from the current government and transforming it is not easily achievable, especially when the change concerns the Constitution and its principles. Governments are rarely willing to alter the structures of their political systems. Nevertheless, given the necessity of moving toward a good governance system, conducting field research, further studies, and engaging in dialogue with officials in this arena could pave the way for the possibility of such a change in the future.

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