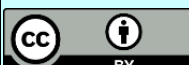


"Shūrā" and Conditional Maximalist Political Participation (Delegative-Agential)

Ali Aqajani ¹

Faculty Member, Department of Political Science, Social Sciences Research Center, Research Institute of Hawzah and University, Qom

Article Info	Abstract
<p>Article type: Research Article</p> <p>Article history: Received 02 October 2024 Received in revised from 18 October 2024 Accepted 10 November 2024 Published online 28 January 2025</p> <p>Keywords: Shūrā; Political Participation; Conditional Maximal (Delegative-Agential) Political Participation; Political-Thematic Interpretation of the Qur'an;</p>	<p>Shūrā is a central concept in political science and in the political-thematic exegesis of the Qur'an, closely linked to political participation. The principal research question is: What is the nature of Shūrā in the Qur'an, and which interpretive approach best reflects the Qur'an's preferred method? Drawing on thematic exegesis, this study hypothesizes that Shūrā is a concept from which political participation can be derived and critically examined, and that it can be assessed within modern theoretical frameworks. On this basis, it is argued that, from a Qur'anic perspective, Shūrā understood as an affirmed (imdā'ī) concept distinct from mere consultation entails a form of obligation, particularly in the public-political sphere during the occultation of the Infallible. From this standpoint, it constitutes a foundational pillar of a conditional-maximal (Delegative-Agential) approach to political participation. The Delegative Agential approach to the Qur'anic verses on Shūrā and political participation acknowledges divine appointment (nass and nasb) in the selection of leadership while affirming the role of public political participation. Consultation with the people or their representatives is not merely decorative; rather, consultation is necessary, and adherence to its outcomes is, in principle, obligatory. Thus, in the era of occultation, public political participation and consultation with the populace are essential both in selecting leadership and in political decision-making provided that certain preconditions are mandatorily observed. The legitimacy of the formation and continuity of a religious government is intrinsically tied to this principle.</p>
<p>Cite this article: Aqajani, A. (2025). "Shūrā" and Conditional Maximalist Political Participation (Delegative-Agential). <i>Journal of Contemporary Studies on Religion and Science</i>, 1(1), 92-111.</p>	
<p> Publisher: Research Institute of Science and Strategic Evolution</p>	

¹ **Email:** tasnimkhosravi1400@gmail.com

² **Email:** dr.abbaszadeh@iict.ac.ir

Introduction

Political participation is one of the most significant concepts in political science and represents one of the most critical and nuanced political challenges both theoretically and practically in contemporary Iranian society. Various perspectives from diverse intellectual traditions have been proposed on this matter. The discussion of political participation, as a pivotal and sensitive juncture in this discourse, must be examined from multiple dimensions to distinguish the Quranic and Islamic approach from alternative frameworks. The primary source of inspiration, however, remains the Holy Quran. Accordingly, an analysis of Quranic verses related to political participation and its subsidiary concepts can provide theoretical and practical solutions.

On the other hand, the concept of *Shūrā* (consultation) is one of the most important Quranic terms, perhaps the closest in meaning to political participation. Throughout Muslim political history, the verses on *Shūrā* have been cited, analyzed, celebrated, and subjected to diverse interpretations either to expand or restrict political participation, both in the past and in the modern era. Some have equated it with democracy or even considered it superior; others have reduced democracy to *Shūrā*, while some have described it as a "baptism" of democracy. Regardless, the concept of *Shūrā* holds a prominent place in the analytical frameworks of Quranic political exegesis, political theology, and Shiite and Sunni political jurisprudence, maintaining a strong connection with political participation across all interpretive approaches.

Political participation is linked to major theories such as elitism theory and pluralism theory, which alternately contract or expand the scope of political participation¹. The preferred definition of political participation in this study is the active, often conscious involvement of individuals or groups in the public sphere, encompassing processes of social influence, power exertion, decision-making, and implementation whether in supportive, supervisory, or competitive forms. This definition, first, excludes most unconscious actions and, second, dismisses passive engagement. Moreover, from a religious perspective, ideal political participation is activity that pursues the material and spiritual prosperity of society and is not reduced to any singular dimension, particularly material welfare. This research also focuses on power dynamics within society and in relation to governance.

The conditional maximal (Delegative-Agential) approach to political participation (*wikāla-garāyāneh*) regards the jurist (*faqīh*) as the deputy of the Infallible Imam (a.s.) a delegation (*wikāla*) while simultaneously asserting that the actualization of this authority (*wilāya*) and the jurist's executive capacity depend, from a religious standpoint, on public support (*kār-gozārī*). If public opinion aligns with religious law, it becomes a condition for legitimacy. Unlike

¹ Nasrin Misfa, *Women's Political Participation in Iran* (Tehran: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1996). P.9. & Lucian Pye, *Political Culture and Political Development*, trans. Majid Mohammadi (*Nameh Farhang* 5–6 [Fall and Winter 1991]). P. 123.

alternative theories, this model affirms the jurist's inherent authority (*wilāya*) but predicates its activation on public acceptance and participation as a component of causality (*juz' al-'illa*).

Thus, the core research question is: *What is the nature of Shūrā in the Quran, and what interpretive approach aligns with the Quran's preferred perspective?* The hypothesis, grounded in thematic exegesis (*tafsīr mawdū'ī*), posits that *Shūrā* is a concept from which political participation can be derived and interrogated, capable of being assessed within modern frameworks. From the Quranic viewpoint, *Shūrā*—as an affirmed (*imḍā'ī*) concept distinct from mere consultation—carries a form of obligation, particularly in the public-political sphere during the occultation (*ghayba*) of the Infallible. It thus constitutes a cornerstone of the conditional maximal (Delegative-Agential) political participation model.

1. Literature Review

Studies that directly address political participation in the Qur'an and its exegetical traditions are relatively limited. Among the few notable works is "*The Right to Political Participation and Political Freedom with Emphasis on the Qur'an*" by Seyyed Kazem Bagheri (2018, 41–65), which examines the role of political participation in the realization of freedom across three developmental stages. Similarly, Yazdani's "*Political Participation in the Islamic Utopia from Qur'anic and Narrational Perspectives*" (2018, 48–73) investigates the foundations of political participation through both Qur'anic and narrational analysis. Although certain sections of Kazem Ghazi-Zadeh's *Government and Politics in the Qur'an* (2007) and various discussions on *wilāyat al-faqīh* (Islamic guardianship) touch on related issues, comprehensive and independent analyses of political participation in Qur'anic discourse remain scarce.

Three recent monographs are particularly significant in this regard. Seyed Sajjad Izdehi's *Political Participation in Shiite Political Jurisprudence* (2017) offers perhaps the most rigorous and systematic treatment of the subject, providing a *fiqhī* (jurisprudential) analysis of political participation within both legitimate and illegitimate political systems. Mohammad Hussein Khaloosi's *Indicators of Political Participation in the Islamic Model of Progress* (2016) identifies measurable indicators for assessing the quality and scope of political participation in Islamic governance. Likewise, Naser Ali Rahmani's *Strategies of Shiite Political Jurisprudence for Expanding Political Participation* (2015) explores participatory models through a Shiite jurisprudential framework, outlining strategies for institutionalizing such participation in modern contexts.

In relation to *Shūrā* and its conceptual intersection with democracy, a number of works stand out. These include Mansour Mirahmadi's *Islam and Deliberative Democracy* (2014) and *The Concept of Shūrā in Iranian Experience* (2015); Abdolali Bazargan's *Shūrā and Bay'a (Allegiance)* (1999); Mojtaba Attarzadeh's "*Shūrā and Democracy in Contemporary Shiite Political Thought*" (2014); Radwan al-Sayyid's "*Shūrā: Between Text and Historical Experience*" (2006); and Davood Firahi's "*Tawfiq Muhammad al-Shawi and the General Theory of Shūrā in Islam*" (2009). Collectively, these studies analyze *Shūrā* as a normative and

institutional concept within Islamic political thought, frequently engaging with debates on Islamic democracy, legitimacy, and consultation.

However, research on agentive political participation (*wikāla-garāyāneh*)—which captures the dialectical interaction between structure and agency—remains cursory. Existing discussions, such as Lakzaei's examination of participatory dynamics (2002, 135–160), tend to be theoretical and largely non-Qur'anic in orientation. This reveals a distinct gap in the literature concerning a Qur'an-based conceptualization of *conditional maximal (delegative-agentive) participation*.

The present study seeks to fill this scholarly gap by offering a thematic-interpretative analysis of the Qur'anic concept of *Shūrā*, situating it within the framework of conditional maximal participation. Through this analysis, the study contributes a new interpretive model for understanding the Qur'an's political theology of participation, bridging classical exegetical insights with contemporary theories of governance and political agency.

2. Research Methodology

This study employs a library research method utilizing an *ijtihādī* (jurisprudential) thematic exegesis (*tafsīr mawḍū'ī*) approach. Thematic exegesis has been defined in various ways. Given its interpretive nature, it is inherently an *ijtihādī* endeavor. Ayatollah Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir al-Ṣadr explains that in this method, the exegete does not examine Quranic verses sequentially but instead focuses research on a specific topic—whether ideological, social, or cosmological—addressed by the Quran, analyzing it comprehensively¹. Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir al-Ḥakīm² aligns with his teacher al-Ṣadr's perspective, though these definitions lack clarity regarding shared thematic criteria.

Others define it as "a discipline examining Quranic propositions united in meaning or objective, achieved by gathering scattered verses, contemplating them through a specific methodology under particular conditions, to articulate the verses, extract Quranic elements, and establish inter-verse connections"³. Additional definitions exist⁴ Muḥammad Bāqir Ma'rifat considers thematic exegesis indispensable, framing it as a response to posed questions—sometimes arising from within the Quran itself, other times from societal realities—with answers derived from the Quran. The latter approach, termed *istinṭāq* (interrogative derivation), is validated by Imam 'Alī's dictum: "*That is the Quran—make it speak!*" (Nahj al-Balāgha, Sermon 158). Ma'rifat categorizes thematic exegesis into four types⁵.

This study's preferred definition, synthesizing select viewpoints is:

¹ Muḥammad Bāqir al-Ṣadr, *al-Madrasah al-Qur'āniyyah* (Tehran: Dār al-Ta'āruf, 1979). P. 12.

² Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir al-Ḥakīm, *al-Tafsīr al-Mawḍū'ī li-l-Qur'ān al-Karīm* (Beirut: Dār al-Ta'āruf li-l-Maṭbū'āt, 1999). P. 368–363.

³ Fath Allah Abd al-Sattar, *Al-Madkhal fi al-Tafsīr al-Mawdu'ī*, 3rd ed. (Cairo: Islamic Distribution House, 1997).

⁴ Ja'far al-Subḥānī, *Mafāhīm al-Qur'ān*, vol. 1 (Qom: Mu'assasat al-Imām al-Ṣādiq, 2006). P. 11.

⁵ Muḥammad Marviyān, *al-Tafsīr al-Mawḍū'ī wa Manhajuhu 'inda 'Ulamā' al-Shī'a* (Qom: Markaz al-Dirāsāt al-Qur'āniyyah, 2008).

An interrogative effort to methodically understand the Quran's perspective by theoretically grounded compilation of verses addressing live scientific or theoretical questions emerging from human knowledge—unified in meaning or objective—where the Quran is expected to offer substantive guidance¹.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Distinction Between Shūrā (Consultative Council) and Mashwara (Personal Consultation)

A critical nuance for this discussion is differentiating shūrā from mashwara. While mashwara spans both private and public domains, shūrā is primarily a public concept. Verses and narrations on mashwara emphasize personal channels and individual decision-making, distinct from shūrā—a view shared by scholars like al-Shāwī². For instance, narrations about Imam 'Alī consulting 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās regarding accepting the caliphate after 'Uthmān's assassination³, or his advice to Ibn 'Abbās: "Opine, and I will reflect. If I dissent, obey me"⁴, illustrate mashwara (leader-advisor dynamics), not shūrā. Similarly, Imam al-Riḍā's (a.s.) narration—"The Prophet (PBUH) consulted his companions, then resolved as he willed"⁵—highlights personal consultation, not institutional shūrā. Imam 'Alī's counsel to his son Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyya—"Combine others' opinions, select the soundest (closest to truth, farthest from error), for the self-opinionated risk peril, while those welcoming others' views discern pitfalls" underscores individual consultation's value, not institutional deliberation.

Key Differences:

- **Mashwara:** An inherently individual process where decision-making rests with the leader (e.g., a ruler consulting advisors). Its aim is clarifying perspectives for *personal* decisions—though still politically relevant.
- **Shūrā:** A *social institution* grounded in collective decision-making for common interests, rights, and welfare. Unlike *mashwara*, participants in *shūrā* are *stakeholders*, not mere advisors.

Thus, the Quranic phrase "*Consult them (wa-shāwirhum) in affairs*"⁶ primarily denotes *institutional shūrā* and public participation. Similarly, "*Their affairs are by consultation*"⁷, irrespective of its Meccan context, refers to public-political matters—reinforced by the post-Uḥud narrative where collective *shūrā* determined battle tactics.

¹ Seyed Hedayat Jalili, *Methodology of Thematic Quranic Exegesis* (Tehran: Kavir Publications, 1993). P.170.

² Muhammad al-Shāwī, *Tawfiq al-Shūrā A'lā Marātib al-Dimuqrāṭiyya* (Cairo: al-Zahrā' li-I'lām al-'Arabī, 1992). P.7.

³ Muhammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, 2nd ed., vol. 4 (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1987). P. 406.

⁴ 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, *Nahj al-Balāgha*, comp. al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifa, n.d.), Maxim 321.

⁵ Barqī, Abū al-Walīd Muḥammad, *Akhbār al-Riḍā*, vol. 2 (Tehran: Bunyād, 1989), 601.

⁶ Q 3:159

⁷ Q 42:38

Historically, *shūrā* entailed majority-based collective decisions under pre-agreed norms, as practiced by the Prophet (PBUH)—sometimes privately, other times publicly (e.g., Dar al-Nadwa or Saqifa deliberations). The Uḥud decision exemplifies institutional *shūrā*. While its mechanisms differed from modern practices, its institutional essence remains demonstrable. Scenarios of *shūrā*'s operation and its nexus with political participation warrant further analysis, but its institutional nature is well-established.

3-2. Shūrā as an Affirmative (Imḍā't) Rather Than Foundational (Ta'sīsī) Concept

Another crucial point is that the practice of consultation (*mashwara*) and subsequently institutionalized consultation (*shūrā*) in political and governmental affairs has long been prevalent across various societies, including those of Mecca and Medina. Specifically, in Mecca, Qusayy ibn Kilāb, the Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) fourth-generation grandfather, upon attaining leadership and authority, established a designated venue—Dār al-Nadwa—for mutual consultation between himself and the people. This practice was not unique to Mecca but was also observed among other tribes and cities. Consequently, the Prophet's political conduct was rooted in the rationally established customs (*sīrat al-'uqalā'*) and social norms divinely sanctioned by God, forming the basis of affirmative rulings (*aḥkām imḍā' iyya*).

From this perspective, *shūrā* had an extensive historical precedent among the tribes and cities of the Arabian Peninsula, particularly in Mecca. Qusayy's most significant initiative in Mecca was arguably the establishment of Dār al-Nadwa, which organized political offices and social affairs. Participation in Dār al-Nadwa was restricted to Qusayy's descendants and his Qurayshite allies. The assembly convened Mecca's elite, comprising elders and nobles of Quraysh, with no individuals under forty permitted entries—except for Qusayy's descendants, who could attend regardless of age¹. Other Qurayshites could only participate if they had reached forty years of age. Dār al-Nadwa served as a forum for deliberation and decision-making on Meccan political, military, social, and economic matters. Among its historically consequential decisions were:

- The treaty between Khuzā'a and Banū Hāshim (Ibn Sa'd, 2000, vol. 1: 66; Ibn Ḥabīb, 1964: 89).
- The groundwork for the Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl alliance (Mas'ūdī, 1965–1979, vol. 3: 9).
- Quraysh's resolution to assassinate the Prophet (PBUH), leading to his emigration on Laylat al-Mabīt².

Thus, *shūrā* was an affirmative institution (*nāzariyya imḍā' iyya*) with deep roots among the people of Mecca, Medina, and most contemporaneous nations—albeit with variations across cultures. It operated on established norms wherein, despite the prominence of leaders, decisions

¹ Abu al-Walid Muhammad Azraqi, *Akhbar Makka wa ma Ja'a fiha min al-Athar*, ed. Rushdi al-Salih Malhas, trans. and ann. Mahmoud Mahdavi Damghani (Tehran: Bunyad, 1989). p. 88

² Abd al-Malik Ibn Hisham, *Al-Sira al-Nabawiyya*, 6th ed. (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1997 AH). P. 124

were ultimately collective. This historical context underscores its intrinsic connection to the concept of political participation.

4. Argument from the General Meaning of Surah (Shūrā 42-38)

The argument from the verse "*And those who have responded to their Lord and established prayer and whose affair is [determined by] consultation among themselves, and from what We have provided them, they spend*" (42:38) regarding political participation requires establishing several points, including its applicability to major governmental matters. The verse employs a declarative form (inshā' in the form of khabar), and there is no counterevidence to its implication. The consultants in this context are either the entire Islamic community or its elites.

Within the framework of the conditional maximal (Delegative-Agential) approach to political participation, a distinction must be made between the era of the Infallible Imam's presence ('aṣr al-ḥuḍūr) and the era of occultation ('aṣr al-ghaybah), with the latter falling outside the general applicability of consultation. In leadership selection during the era of presence, definitive textual proofs (nuṣūṣ) remove the matter from the realm of majority opinion and popular election—a presupposition beyond the scope of this discussion. However, regarding governance implementation, we adopt a nuanced position to be elaborated later. Importantly, this approach does not negate individual leadership but emphasizes the necessity of granting due weight to public and elite political participation.

Verse 38 of Surah Shūrā describes the characteristics of believers, listing the requirements and consequences of faith alongside responding to God, establishing prayer, and spending wealth. While some scholars deny its jurisprudential implication for the obligation (wujūb) of consultation, others affirm it. Regardless of juristic debate, the verse's language clearly conveys necessity in Quranic discourse. The term "amr" (affair) here encompasses all personal and social matters.

Two perspectives exist on this verse:

1. **Non-Political View:** Some argue it has no direct relevance to sociopolitical issues, primarily emphasizing the importance of consultation in individual and communal life without specific reference to political institutions—though it may secondarily apply.
2. **Political View:** Others interpret "amr" as referring to political matters, situating the verse within the social life of believers.

Both views agree on the verse's applicability to sociopolitical management in a religious government. Another debate concerns whether the verse is substantive (mawḍū'ī) or merely procedural (ṭarīqī) for the Infallible. Even if consultation is procedural, this does not undermine the argument for obligatory political participation; rather, it strengthens it. If the Infallible, despite having no need for consultation, adheres to it, then non-Infallibles are all the more bound by it.

A further critique posits that the verse's Meccan context precludes sociopolitical relevance. The response is that although the verse is likely Meccan, the clause "*their affair is [determined by]*

consultation among themselves" is a universal, essential proposition (qaḍiyyah ḥaqīqiyyah), not tied to a specific occasion of revelation (sabab al-nuzūl). Even in Mecca, the Prophet's call carried sociopolitical dimensions. Thus, while the verse's primary implication may not explicitly address politics, it carries an implicit and general applicability. Some exegetes, like Ṭabāṭabā'ī¹, consider parts of Surah Shūrā, including this verse, Medinan.

The Obligatory Nature of Shūrā

The primary question is whether recourse to Shūrā is obligatory or non-obligatory during presence and occultation. The agentive approach holds that Shūrā is necessary in both eras, as the verse's language implies obligation, prescribing consultation as the norm for believers in political affairs—though its specifics may vary. Some exegetes, like *Aḥsan al-Ḥadīth*, affirm the substantive role of Shūrā in Islam².

A ruler must avoid autocracy, consulting knowledgeable and qualified individuals to minimize error, though the final decision rests with them. The obligation to obey those in authority (ūlī al-amr) does not preclude recourse to Shūrā. Shūrā is a fundamental rule for Muslims unless specific evidence dictates otherwise, as the term "amr" implies generality. *Min Wahy al-Qur'ān*³ supports this.

Quranic analysis and the Prophet's Sunnah demonstrate that consultation was a consistent practice, even for the Infallible, who consulted on social, executive, military, and strategic matters. Three theories on Shūrā emerge:

1. **Permissive:** Shūrā is a right.
2. **Obligatory:** Shūrā is a duty.
3. **Hybrid:** A more robust theory combining both.

This third theory obliges even a just jurist (faqīh) to consult before decision-making, as noted in *Tafsīr al-Hidāyah* (12:365). Some exegetes emphasize Shūrā's necessity during occultation, even restricting governance to consultation among knowledgeable, pious elites in matters of legal or situational ambiguity. While exclusivity may be untenable, Shūrā is indispensable for societal cohesion.

Some argue that the Prophet, despite receiving revelation, needed consultation except in matters of divine command (amr Allāh). As *Āmilī*⁴ states: "*The Prophet (ṣ) adhered to general principles in worldly matters, utilizing others' intellects and actions as a necessity of life.*"

¹ Allameh Sayyid Muhammad Hossein Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *Al-Mīzān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, vol. 18 (Qom: Mu'assasat al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1970), p. 6.

² Ali Akbar Qarashi, *Qamus al-Quran*, 6th ed. (Tehran: Dar al-Kutub al-Islamiyya, 1992). P. 498.

³ Qarashi, *Qamus al-Quran*, p. 191.

⁴ Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Āmilī, *Wasā'il al-Shī'a*, vol. 2 (Qom: Mu'assasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1993), p. 257.

Sunni exegetes and jurists also affirm Shūrā's obligation. Early scholars like Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Sufyān al-Thawrī deemed it obligatory for the Prophet¹. The Mālikīs universally consider it obligatory², while Shāfi'īs are divided between recommending and obliging it³. Ḥanafīs use the term "mamūr" (commanded), implying necessity, with figures like al-Jaṣṣāṣ inferring obligation.

In sum, the verse's language indicates necessity, with juristic rulings ranging from strongly recommended (mustaḥabb mu'akkad) to obligatory. Even if obligation is unproven, the strong recommendation powerfully reinforces political participation.

5. Argument from Surah Āl 'Imrān 3:159

The verse *"So by mercy from Allah, you were gentle with them. Had you been harsh, they would have dispersed. So pardon them, seek forgiveness, and consult them in the matter. Then, when you have resolved, rely upon Allah"* (3:159) is pivotal for Shūrā's link to political participation. Revealed post-Uhud, it reaffirms consultation despite adverse outcomes.

Key questions arise:

1. Does "amr" (matter) extend beyond war tactics?
2. Does "shāwirhum" (consult them) imply obligation or permissibility?
3. Is the address exclusive to the Prophet?

Most exegetes agree on the generality of "amr" and the non-exclusivity of the address. Ibn 'Āshūr (3:268) states the Prophet was commanded to consult.

Obligation to Implement Shūrā's Outcomes

The agentive approach generally holds that acting on Shūrā's outcomes is obligatory in major matters, especially during occultation. The phrase *"when you have resolved"* (fa-idhā 'azamta) implies the leader's commitment to Shūrā's results after consultation. The omitted object (maḥdhūf) could be *"resolve to implement the Shūrā's opinion."* Rejecting a majority opinion defeats Shūrā's purpose. While Shūrā's outcomes vary, implementation is obligatory when a decisive majority convinces the leader.

Some argue that while consultation is obligatory for the Prophet, decision-making remains his prerogative, as *"then rely upon Allah"* suggests final authority. Exegeses like *Mafāhīm al-Qur'ān* extend this to all rulers, denying obligation to follow Shūrā's outcomes. This view rests on the Infallible's immunity ('iṣmah) and knowledge, rendering Shūrā a means to:

- Empower the community.
- Garner public approval.
- Justify decisions to consultants.
- Cultivate consultative readiness.

¹ 'Alī ibn Abū Bakr Ibn 'Āshūr, *Tafsīr al-Tahrīr wa-l-Tanwīr*, vol. 3 (Tunis: Dār al-Tūnisiyya li-l-Nashr, 1984), 268.

² Ibn 'Āshūr, *Tafsīr al-Tahrīr wa-l-Tanwīr*; p. 269.

³ Ibid. p. 268.

- Develop intellectual and leadership capacities.

Critiques of this view note that:

1. The extent of the Infallible's knowledge in daily matters is debated. At Uhud, Ḥubāb ibn al-Mundhir's advice on camp positioning was accepted¹
2. During Tabūk, the Prophet initially lacked knowledge of a lost camel.²
3. "*When you have resolved*" is a corollary to consultation, implying resolution to act on Shūrā's outcomes when convincing.

The shift from plural ("consult them") to singular ("you resolve") reflects leadership execution, not unilateral decision-making. Even if technical objections are dismissed, the emphasis on maximal participation remains, as the Infallible's adherence to Shūrā—despite divine connection—underscores its necessity.

Some exegeses, like *Tasnīm*³, argue that while the verse may not explicitly mandate obligation, major governance matters for non-Infallibles necessitate consultation under "*what is indispensable for an obligation is itself obligatory.*" Others, like *Min Wahy al-Qur'ān*,⁴ condition adherence to Shūrā's outcomes on the Infallible's conviction—a balanced view adopted here.

Historical analysis shows the Prophet never contravened a majority opinion post-consultation. Thus, "*what God wills*" refers to acting on consultative outcomes that convince the Infallible.

6. Argument Based on the Content of Verse 159 of Surah Āl 'Imrān

This verse ("*So by mercy from Allah, you were gentle with them. And if you had been rude [in speech] and harsh in heart, they would have disbanded from about you. So pardon them and ask forgiveness for them and consult them in the matter. And when you have decided, then rely upon Allah. Indeed, Allah loves those who rely [upon Him]*") is the second most significant verse concerning the framework of *shūrā* and its relationship with political participation. Revealed in the aftermath of the Battle of Uḥud, the verse addresses the Prophet's (PBUH) consultation with his companions. Ṭabarī recounts that when the Prophet learned of Quraysh's encampment at the foothills of Uḥud, he sought their counsel. Some advocated confronting the enemy outside Medina, while the Anṣār argued for remaining in the city. Despite initially favoring defense, the Prophet ultimately accepted 'Abdullāh ibn Ubayy's plea not to "deprive them of Paradise," donned his armor, and marched to Uḥud⁵.

¹ al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, P. 960

² Ibn Hisham, *Al-Sira al-Nabawiyya*; p. 523

³ Abdollah Javadi Amoli, *Tafsir Tasnim*, ed. Abdolkarim Abedini, vol: 16 (Qom: Esra, 2009). P. 134.

⁴ Muhammad Hussein Fadlullāh, *Min Wahy al-Qur'ān*, vol. 6 (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1996), 344–347.

⁵ al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* vol.2. p.60.

Despite the tragic outcome of the Battle of Uḥud, which could have undermined confidence in collective decision-making, the Quranic verse affirms the Prophet's consistent practice of consulting the people even when results are unfavorable. To fully interpret the verse, several questions arise: does *al-amr* ("the matter") refer exclusively to military affairs or to broader socio-political issues; does *wa-shāwirhum* ("consult them") indicate obligation (*wujūb*) or permissibility (*istihbāb*); and is the command limited to the Prophet or universally applicable. The definite article (*al*) in *al-amr* signals generality (*jins*), encompassing all socio-political matters, a view supported by most exegetes. Nearly all interpretations agree that the verse is not confined to the Prophet. Ibn 'Āshūr, a contemporary Sunni exegete, explicitly notes that the Prophet was commanded to practice *shūrā*¹.

The key issue is whether leaders must act on consultative outcomes. The agitative participation model (*wikāla-garāyāna*) obligates adherence to *shūrā* in major affairs, particularly during the occultation (*ghaybah*). Although some argue that the phrase *fa-idhā 'azamta* ("when you have decided") preserves final authority for the leader, this overlooks the verse's structure. The implied object of *'azamta* could logically be *'alā tanfīdh ra'y al-shūrā* ("to implement the consultative opinion"), as disregarding a majority opinion would negate *shūrā*'s purpose. Historical precedent confirms the Prophet consistently acted on *shūrā*'s outcomes, as in Uḥud and Badr. Some claim the verse merely permits consultation after Uḥud without obligating it, but this fails because the Prophet's continuous practice post-Uḥud confirms necessity, and isolating the verse from its historical context is methodologically unsound. The juxtaposition of "*pardon them*" (recommendation) with "*consult them*" might suggest non-obligation; however, imperative verbs (*if'al*) generally indicate obligation unless explicitly contradicted, and the Quran often pairs obligations and recommendations, as in Q73:20, which juxtaposes recitation (recommended) and prayer (obligatory).

Theological and historical evidence supports obligation. The Prophet stated, "When your rulers are the best among you, your wealthy are generous, and your affairs are decided through consultation, then the earth's surface is better for you than its depths. But if the opposite prevails, the earth's depths become better"². Imam al-Riḍā narrated that when asked to recommend a successor for his deceased servant, he replied, "The Prophet consulted his companions, then resolved as Allah willed"³. Historically, "Allah's will" consistently aligned with *shūrā* outcomes. The verse's *prima facie* meaning indicates obligation, supported by the imperative form (*wa-shāwirhum*), the Prophet's unbroken adherence to *shūrā*, and analogical reasoning (*qiyās*): if collective decision-making is indispensable for non-infallible rulers, then *shūrā*

¹ Alī ibn Abū Bakr Ibn 'Āshūr, *Tafsīr al-Tahrīr wa-l-Tanwīr*, vol. 3 (Tunis: Dār al-Tūnisiyya li-l-Nashr, 1984), 268.

² Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, vol. 3 (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1990), P. 361; Muhammad Baqir Majlisi, *Tuhaf al-Uqūl*, P. 36.

³ Abū al-Walīd Muḥammad Barqī, *Akhhār al-Riḍā*, vol. 2 (Tehran: Bunyād, 1989). P.601.

becomes obligatory in governance. Even if its necessity is disputed during the Prophet's era, the occultation eliminates any grounds for exemption. As *Tafsīr al-Tasnīm* argues, major state affairs cannot be properly managed without consultation¹. The verse thus institutionalizes *shūrā* as the cornerstone of Islamic polity, a principle resilient even after Uḥud, ensuring communal cohesion beyond infallible leadership.

6-1. "Analysis and response to critics' views on the connection between *Shūrā* verses and political participation:"

The criticisms regarding the application of *Shūrā* verses to political participation primarily fall into three categories: interpretive, historical, and conceptual. To analyze these criticisms, it is necessary first to examine the basis of each critique and then provide an appropriate response.

1. Ambiguity in the Meaning of *Shūrā* Verses Regarding Political Participation

This view argues that the verses related to *Shūrā* primarily recommend consultation in general matters and cannot be directly extended to governance models. Critics note that verses such as *Shūrā* 38 and Al-Imran 159 emphasize consultation but do not explicitly mandate a governmental system.

Response: The Quran, as a guiding book, presents principles that can be applied to social and governmental circumstances. From the thematic interpretation perspective, *Shūrā* is not merely a moral recommendation but rather a social obligation in Islamic governance. Given the use of the term *Amr* in *Shūrā* 38, which encompasses governmental and social affairs, it can be concluded that *Shūrā* plays a role in the political structure of Islam. Additionally, the Prophet's practice demonstrates that *Shūrā* was utilized in governance-related decisions, such as consultations in battles like Badr and Uhud.

2. Differentiation Between *Shūrā* and Individual Consultation

Some interpretations assert that *Shūrā* in the Quran refers more to personal consultation rather than an institutionalized political system. Thus, it is argued that *Shūrā* is not applicable at the macro level of governance.

Response: While distinguishing between *Shūrā* and individual consultation is important, the Quran, when stating *Amrhum Shūrā Baynahum*, refers to a social practice rather than an individual decision-making process. Historically, *Shūrā* existed as an institution among pre-Islamic Arab tribes, and the Prophet Muhammad used it in governance. Therefore, *Shūrā* functions as a collective decision-making body, influencing political participation rather than serving merely as a moral suggestion for individual consultation.

3. No Explicit Obligation to Follow the Majority Opinion in *Shūrā*

One of the criticisms is that *Shūrā* verses do not explicitly mandate adherence to the majority's decision. This argument is particularly raised concerning infallible leaders, as some

¹ Amoli, *Tafsīr Tasnīm*, vol. 16, P. 134.

believe that Prophets and Imams did not require consultation and made decisions based on divine knowledge.

Response: In Al-Imran 159, God commands the Prophet to consult his people. While some interpretations suggest the final decision lay with the Prophet, historical events indicate that the Prophet consistently adhered to Shūrā's conclusions—even when his personal inclination differed (as in the battle of Uhud). For non-infallible rulers, this obligation becomes even more necessary, as they lack divine knowledge, and governing without public participation would lead to autocracy. Consequently, in the era of occultation, adherence to Shūrā decisions is essential for political legitimacy.

4. Historical and Social Context of Shūrā

Some scholars argue that Shūrā in the Quran reflects pre-Islamic tribal traditions rather than being a foundational principle in Islamic governance.

Response: While Shūrā was a decision-making practice among Arabs, the Quran endorsed and institutionalized it as a governance principle in Islamic society. Moreover, the key difference between pre-Islamic tribal councils and Islamic Shūrā lies in the ethical framework of consultation in Islam—which mandates consultation with qualified experts and virtuous individuals, rather than merely gathering tribal elders. Therefore, Shūrā in Islam is an evolved structure, offering a more refined governance model.

5. Interpretive: Challenges in Comparing Shūrā with Democracy

Some interpretations equate *shūrā* with democracy, while critics argue that Quranic *shūrā* possesses distinct ethical and theological limitations that render it incompatible with modern democratic governance.¹

Response: While *shūrā* and democracy share procedural similarities—particularly participatory decision-making—their foundational principles differ substantially. *Shūrā* operates within moral and religious parameters that restrict the sovereignty of the numerical majority, emphasizing consultation with knowledgeable and virtuous individuals (*ahl al-ra'y wa-l-taqwā*). In contrast, democracy centers on universal suffrage and quantitative majority rule.² Despite these distinctions, *shūrā* embodies the principle of collective governance and offers a structured model for political participation compatible with Islamic moral foundations.³ The debates surrounding the application of *shūrā* to political participation primarily concern three areas: (1) the degree of obligation in practicing *shūrā*, (2) its historical and institutional roots, and (3) its comparative relationship with democratic systems. However, a close examination of Quranic exegeses, historical precedents, and Prophetic practice reveals that

¹ Davood Firahī, *The Role of Shūrā in Governance* (Tehran: University of Tehran Press, 2009), 45–46.

² Seyyed Abdul Qayum Sajjadi, "The Jurisprudential Foundations of Political Participation," *Political Science Quarterly* 8, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 73–89.

³ Seyyed Kazem Seyyed Bagheri, "The Right to Political Participation and Political Freedom with Emphasis on the Quran," *Islamic Political Research* 6, no. 14 (Fall and Winter 2018): 41–65.

shūrā is not merely an ethical or individual recommendation, but rather an institutionalized political principle essential to Islamic governance.¹

In the era of occultation (*ghaybah*), *shūrā* assumes even greater importance, as political legitimacy becomes contingent upon public participation and collective decision-making among jurists (*fuqahā'*) and scholars.² Therefore, although *shūrā* cannot be equated with Western democracy in absolute terms, it remains a cornerstone of participatory governance within the Islamic political framework.³

7. The Practice of the Infallibles (Ma'ṣūmīn) in Utilizing Consultation (Shūrā) and Political Participation

In completing our discussion on *shūrā* and its relationship with political participation - given that our research method employs thematic exegesis (*tafsīr mawḍū'ī*) which requires a comprehensive approach - we must examine the practice (*sīra*) of the Infallibles, particularly the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). The Prophet's consistent and perpetual practice was to consult with the people. Here we briefly present examples of his consultations, which sometimes took individual forms, sometimes collective institutional *shūrā*, and sometimes consultations with select advisors. Naturally, when consulting large groups of Muslims to gather opinions, this constitutes institutional *shūrā*; individual consultations remain personal advice-seeking, while limited consultations with select groups represent advisory councils.

1. The Prophet's Consultations During the Battle of Badr

The Prophet engaged in three consultations during Badr:

First: Regarding whether to engage in battle - though he personally seemed inclined to fight - he consulted his companions. Historical accounts indicate this was conducted as institutional *shūrā* or public consultation. After learning of Quraysh's movements, he sought counsel. Initially, Abu Bakr and Umar advised against fighting, arguing Quraysh would fight fiercely. Then Miqdad stood and declared they would not repeat the Israelites' mistake of refusing to fight alongside Moses⁴. The Prophet particularly sought the Ansar's opinion since they formed the majority and had pledged support at the 'Aqaba Pledge. Sa'd ibn Mu'adh, representing the Ansar, affirmed their unconditional support, prompting the Prophet to order mobilization⁵

A potential interpretive objection arises from the early verses of Sūrat al-Anfāl (8:5) which suggest the decision to fight came from divine command. Two responses:

¹ Mohammad Yazdani, "Political Participation in the Islamic Utopia from Quranic and Narrational Perspectives," *Political Studies Quarterly* 13, no. 3 (2018): 48–73.

² Seyed Sajjad Izdehi, *Political Participation in Shiite Political Jurisprudence* (Tehran: Islamic Culture and Thought Research Institute, 2017), 112–118.

³ Davood Firahī, *Islam and Deliberative Democracy* (Tehran: Ney Publications, 2014), 127–130.

⁴ Quran 5:24

⁵ al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, 2, P. 140&189. & Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, ed. Marsden Jones (London: Oxford University Press, 1988), 1:47.

- a. No historical account mentions the Prophet revealing divine instruction before consultation - the shūrā process is well-documented.
- b. These verses address post-battle disputes over spoils, reflecting God's will manifest through ordinary means like majority consensus, not negating the consultative process. Quranic verses like "You did not throw when you threw, but God threw" (8:17) demonstrate divine will operating through human agency.

Second: Regarding battlefield positioning, the Prophet consulted companions when camping near Badr's wells. Ḥubāb ibn Mundhir questioned if the location was divinely ordained; when told it wasn't, he suggested militarily superior positions which the Prophet accepted¹

Third: Concerning prisoners of war, he consulted senior companions collectively, unanimously accepting ransom payments which he implemented².

2. The Battle of Uḥud

The Prophet convened shūrā to respond to Quraysh's army. ‘Abdullāh ibn Ubayy proposed defensive tactics inside Medina, supported by tribal leaders but opposed by youth. Despite personally favoring defense, the Prophet accepted the majority opinion³ (Wāqidī.).

3. The Battle of the Trench (Khandaq)

Here too, the Prophet followed consultative decisions. Some suggested defending from Medina's high points, but Salmān al-Fārisī's proposal to dig trenches - drawing on Persian military tradition - was unanimously adopted⁴. He also declined a tribe's demand for one-third of Medina's date harvest after consulting his senior companions. This example, alongside numerous others, demonstrates that the Prophet consistently incorporated consultation (*shūrā*) into his leadership decisions. Additional notable cases include:

- Consultations during the conflicts with Banū Qurayza and Banū al-Naḍīr;⁵
- The deliberations preceding the Ḥudaybiyya Treaty negotiations;⁶
- The decision-making processes during the expeditions to Ṭā'if and Tabūk.⁷

This consistent historical pattern firmly establishes *shūrā* as a fundamental principle of the Prophet's political methodology. It illustrates that collective deliberation was not merely advisory but functioned as an integral mechanism of governance in the nascent Islamic polity—whether through structured councils or informal assemblies. Significantly, historical sources

¹ Ibn Hisham, *Al-Sira al-Nabawiyya*; p. 251 & al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, 2:20

² al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 3:926

³ Ibid. 1:211

⁴ Ibid. 1:444

⁵ Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *Al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol. 9 (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2003), 218.

⁶ Ismā‘īl ibn ‘Umar Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Sira al-Nabawiyya*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-Ma‘rifa, 1998), 220.

⁷ ‘Alī ibn Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, *Al-Sira al-Ḥalabiyya (Insān al-‘Uyūn fī Sīrat al-Amīn al-Ma‘mūn)*, vol. 3 (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2002). P.161.

record no instance in which the Prophet disregarded a consultative decision once a majority consensus had been achieved.

Conclusion

The concept of *Shūrā* in the Qur'an constitutes one of the foundational pillars of Islamic political thought, intrinsically linked to the idea of political participation. Throughout Islamic intellectual history, *Shūrā* has been interpreted in diverse ways ranging from being equated with or even viewed as superior to democracy, to being seen as a mechanism that modifies or legitimizes existing political systems.

Employing a thematic-interpretative approach, this study analyzes the role of *Shūrā* in relation to conditional maximal (de-agentive) political participation and demonstrates that *Shūrā* in the Qur'an is not merely a recommendation but embodies both legal and obligatory dimensions.

The agentive approach grounded in the concept of conditional maximal participation toward the Qur'anic verses on *Shūrā* and political participation maintains that, while acknowledging divine designation (*nass wa nasb*) in the appointment of leadership, it nonetheless affirms the substantive (*mawḍū'ī*), rather than merely procedural (*tarīqī*), role of public political participation. Based on the Qur'anic emphasis on *Shūrā*, consultation with the people or their representatives cannot be regarded as ornamental or peripheral. Both the act of consultation and the adherence to its collective outcomes constitute necessary obligations. The establishment of consultative councils by the Infallible Imam further indicates an implicit prior commitment to the results of such consultation at least in instances where a decisive majority achieves a consensus capable of persuading the Infallible leader.

This research concludes that *Shūrā* represents a ratified (*imdā'ī*) concept, inherited from pre-Islamic socio-political traditions and subsequently institutionalized within the Islamic framework, rather than being an innovation of Islam. This understanding has profound implications for the relationship between *Shūrā* and religious political systems. It reveals that *Shūrā* is not limited to non-infallible governance structures but also serves as an essential component of public decision-making even during the era of infallible leadership. Consequently, in the era of occultation, the role of *Shūrā* becomes even more pronounced, rendering public participation in leadership selection and political decision-making a necessary and binding practice.

Moreover, this study underscores that *Shūrā* in the Qur'an functions as a social institution that must be engaged in major political and collective decisions. The distinction between *Shūrā* and individual consultation is thus critical: consultation (*mashwara*) is primarily a personal act, whereas *Shūrā* operates as an institutionalized collective mechanism governed by established decision-making principles. This essential differentiation ensures that *Shūrā* within the political sphere transcends moral exhortation and assumes the status of a social and political obligation.

A close examination of the relevant Qur'anic verses reveals that in two key passages—Q 42:38 (*al-Shūrā*) and Q 3:159 (*Āl 'Imrān*) *Shūrā* is mentioned alongside core religious duties such as prayer and almsgiving, indicating its foundational importance. In *Āl 'Imrān* 3:159, God commands the Prophet to consult with the people even after the setback of the Battle of Uhud, underscoring the indispensability of collective consultation in decision-making. Analysis of classical and contemporary interpretations further confirms that consultation and adherence to its results, especially in public affairs, are essential for legitimate governance making *Shūrā* obligatory for non-infallible rulers, particularly during the period of occultation.

The findings of this research thus suggest that *Shūrā* and political participation in Islamic thought are not only necessary but also serve as the foundation for the legitimacy and continuity of religious governance in the absence of the Infallible. Reconsidering certain traditional interpretations may therefore pave the way for renewed perspectives on political-religious governance and enhance public engagement in critical political and social decision-making processes.

From this standpoint, *Shūrā* should not be viewed merely as a mechanism for legitimizing governmental authority, but rather as a dynamic process that strengthens the reciprocal relationship between the people and their rulers. As such, *Shūrā* ensures the vitality, adaptability, and legitimacy of religious governance—serving as a catalyst for advancing theoretical and practical understandings of political participation and governance in Islamic political systems.

References

The Holy Quran.

Nahj al-Balagha.

Abd al-Khaliq, Farid. *Fi al-Fiqh al-Siyasi al-Islami*. Cairo: Dar al-Shuruq, 1998.

Abd al-Sattar, Fath Allah. *Al-Madkhal fi al-Tafsir al-Mawdu'i*. 3rd ed. Cairo: Islamic Distribution House, 1997.

al-ʿĀmilī, Muhammad ibn Ahmad. *Wasā'il al-Shī'a*. Vol. 2. Qom: Mu'assasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1413 AH [≈1993 CE].

al-Ḥakīm, Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir. *al-Tafsīr al-Mawḏū'ī li-l-Qur'ān al-Karīm*. Beirut: Dār al-Ta'āruf li-l-Maṭbū'āt, 1999.

ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. *Nahj al-Balāgha*. Compiled by al-Sharīf al-Raḏī. Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifa, n.d.

Alikhani, Ali Akbar. *Political Participation*. Tehran: Safir, 1998.

al-Ṣadr, Muḥammad Bāqir. *al-Madrasah al-Qur'āniyyah*. Tehran: Dār al-Ta'āruf, 1979.

Al-Sayyid, Radwan. "Shūrā: Between Text and Historical Experience." Translated by Majid Moradi. *Political Sciences Journal* 36 (Winter 2006): 199–216.

Al-Shawi, Muhammad. *Tawfiq al-Shūrā A'la Maratib al-Dimuqratiyya*. Cairo: Al-Zahra li-I'lam al-Arabi, 1994.

al-Subḥānī, Ja'far. *Mafāhīm al-Qur'ān*. Vol. 1. Qom: Mu'assasat al-Imām al-Ṣādiq, 2006.

Araki, Mohsen. "The Position of Shūrā in Selecting an Islamic Ruler." *Islamic Government Quarterly* 14, no. 2 (Summer 2009).

Arasta, Mohammad Javad, and Hussein Sheikh al-Molouk. "Rational Arguments for the Necessity of Consultation in Islamic Government with an Approach to Imam Khomeini's Practice." *Matin Research Journal* 18, no. 73 (Winter 2016).

Arasta, Mohammad Javad. "Attention to Public Opinion in Imam Ali's View." *Islamic Government Quarterly* 17 (Autumn 2000).

Arasta, Mohammad Javad. "People and the Establishment of Islamic Government." *Islamic Revolution Studies* 2 (Autumn 2005).

Attarzadeh, Mojtaba Mehdi Rasti. "Shūrā and Democracy in Contemporary Shiite Political Thought." *Rahyafat-e Enqelab-e Eslami* 27 (Summer 2014).

Azraqi, Abu al-Walid Muhammad. *Akhbar Makka wa ma Ja'a fiha min al-Athar*. Edited by Rushdi al-Salih Malhas. Translated and annotated by Mahmoud Mahdavi Damghani. Tehran: Bunyad, 1989.

Bazargan, Abdolali. *Shūrā and Bay'ah: Divine Sovereignty in People's Government*. Tehran: Sahami Enteshar, 1999.

Firahi, Davood. "Tawfiq Muhammad al-Shawi and the General Theory of Shūrā in Islam." *Siyasat Quarterly* 39, no. 1 (Spring 2009).

Firahi, Davood. "The Concept of Political Participation." *Political Sciences Quarterly* 1, no. 1 (Summer 1998).

Ghazi Zadeh, Kazem. *Politics and Government in the Quran*. 3rd ed. Tehran: Islamic Culture and Thought Research Institute, 2007.

- Ibn 'Āshūr, 'Alī ibn Abū Bakr. *Tafsīr al-Tahrīr wa-l-Tanwīr*. Vol. 3. Tunis: Dār al-Tūnisiyya li-l-Nashr, 1984.
- Ibn Habib, Muhammad. *Kitab al-Munammaq fi Akhbar Quraysh*. Edited by Khurshid Ahmad Faruq. Hyderabad: Da'irat al-Ma'arif al-'Uthmaniyya, 1964.
- Ibn Hisham, Abd al-Malik. *Al-Sira al-Nabawiyya*. 6th ed. Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1418 AH.
- Ibn Manzur, Muhammad. *Lisan al-'Arab*. Beirut: Dar Ihya' al-Turath al-'Arabi, 1405 AH.
- Izdehi, Seyed Sajjad. *Political Participation in Shiite Political Jurisprudence*. Tehran: Islamic Culture and Thought Research Institute, 2017.
- Jalili, Seyed Hedayat. *Methodology of Thematic Quranic Exegesis*. Tehran: Kavir Publications, 1993.
- Javadi Amoli, Abdollah. *Tafsir Tasnim*. Edited by Abdolkarim Abedini. Qom: Esra, 2009.
- Khalousi, Mohammad Hussein. *Indicators of Political Participation in the Islamic Model of Progress*. Qom: Imam Khomeini Educational and Research Institute, 2016.
- Majlisi, Muhammad Baqir. *Bihar al-Anwar*. 33 vols. Beirut: Al-Wafa Institute, 1989.
- Makarem Shirazi, Nasser. *The Message of the Quran*. 9th ed. Tehran: Dar al-Kutub al-Islamiyya, 2007.
- Ma'rifat, Muḥammad Bāqir. *al-Tafsīr wa-l-Mufasssīrūn fi Thawbihi al-Qashīb*. Qom: Mu'assasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1995.
- Marviyān, Muḥammad. *al-Tafsīr al-Mawḍū'ī wa Manhajuhu 'inda 'Ulamā' al-Shī'a*. Qom: Markaz al-Dirāsāt al-Qur'āniyyah, 2008.
- Mas'udi, Ali ibn al-Husayn. *Muruj al-Dhahab wa Ma'adin al-Jawhar*. Edited by Charles Pellat. Beirut: Al-Jami'a al-Lubnaniyya, 1965–1979.
- Mirehmadi, Mansour. *Islam and Deliberative Democracy*. 3rd ed. Tehran: Nashr-e Ney, 2014.
- Misfa, Nasrin. *Women's Political Participation in Iran*. Tehran: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1996.
- Montazeri, Hussein Ali. *Dirasat fi Wilayat al-Faqih wa Fiqh al-Dawla al-Islamiyya*. Qom: Al-Markaz al-'Alami li-l-Dirasat al-Islamiyya, 1988.
- Muslim, 'Abd al-'Alī. *al-Tafsīr al-Mawḍū'ī: Mafhūmuhu, Manhajuhu, wa Namādhijuhu*. Cairo: Dār al-Thaqāfah, 2000.
- Mustafawi, Hasan. *Al-Tahqiq fi Kalamat al-Quran al-Karim*. Tehran: Book Translation and Publishing Company, 1981.
- Pye, Lucian. *Political Culture and Political Development*. Translated by Majid Mohammadi. *Nameh Farhang* 5–6 (Fall and Winter 1991).
- Qarashi, Ali Akbar. *Qamus al-Quran*. 6th ed. Tehran: Dar al-Kutub al-Islamiyya, 1992.
- Ragheb Isfahani, Hussein ibn Muhammad. *Al-Mufradat fi Gharib al-Quran*. Qom: Daftar-e Nashr, 1404 AH.
- Rahmani, Naser Ali. *Strategies of Shiite Political Jurisprudence for Expanding Political Participation*. Qom: Al-Mustafa Publications, 2015.
- al-Wāqidi, Muḥammad ibn 'Umar. *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*. Edited by Marsden Jones. 3 vols. London: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Rush, Michael. *Society and Politics*. Translated by Manouchehr Sabouri. Tehran: SAMT, 2004.
- Sadr, Muhammad Baqir. *Al-Madrassa al-Qur'aniyya*. N.d., 1979.
- Saduq, Muhammad ibn Ali ibn Babawayh. *Man La Yahduruhu al-Faqih*. 4 vols. Qom: Islamic Publications Office, 1992.

- Seyyed Bagheri, Seyyed Kazem. "The Right to Political Participation and Political Freedom with Emphasis on the Quran." *Islamic Political Research* 6, no. 14 (Fall and Winter 2018): 41–65.
- Sobhani, Ja'far. *Mafahim al-Quran*. Qom: Imam Sadiq Institute, 2006.
- Tabari, Muhammad ibn Jarir. *Tarikh al-Tabari*. 2nd ed. Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1987.
- Ṭabāṭabā'ī, Allameh Sayyid Muhammad Hossein. *Al-Mīzān fī Tafṣīr al-Qur'ān*. Vol. 18. Qom: Mu'assasat al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1970.
- Tarihi, Fakhr al-Din. *Majma' al-Bahrayn*. Edited by Seyyed Ahmad Hoseyni. 6 vols. Tehran: Mortazavi Publications, 1995.
- Tusi, Muhammad ibn Hasan. *Al-Amali*. Qom: Dar al-Thaqafa, 1993.
- Ibn 'Āshūr, 'Alī ibn Abū Bakr. *Tafṣīr al-Tahrīr wa-l-Tanwīr*. Vol. 3. Tunis: Dār al-Tūnisiyya li-l-Nashr, 1984.
- Al-Tirmidhī. *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*. Vol. 3. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1990.
- Majlisi, Muhammad Baqir. *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*. Qom: Mu'assasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, n.d.
- Barqī, Abū al-Walīd Muḥammad. *Akhbār al-Riḍā*. Vol. 2. Tehran: Bunyād, 1989.
- Javadi Amoli, Abdollah. *Tafṣīr Tasnīm*. Vol. 16. Qom: Esrā, 2009.
- Fīrahī, Davood. *Islam and Deliberative Democracy*. Tehran: Ney Publications, 2014.
- Fīrahī, Davood. *The Role of Shūrā in Governance*. Tehran: University of Tehran Press, 2009.
- Izdehi, Seyed Sajjad. *Political Participation in Shiite Political Jurisprudence*. Tehran: Islamic Culture and Thought Research Institute, 2017.
- Sajjadi, Seyyed Abdul Qayum. "The Jurisprudential Foundations of Political Participation." *Political Science Quarterly* 8, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 73–89.
- Seyyed Bagheri, Seyyed Kazem. "The Right to Political Participation and Political Freedom with Emphasis on the Quran." *Islamic Political Research* 6, no. 14 (Fall and Winter 2018): 41–65.
- Yazdani, Mohammad. "Political Participation in the Islamic Utopia from Quranic and Narrational Perspectives." *Political Studies Quarterly* 13, no. 3 (2018): 48–73.