Investigating of Mechanisms for Changing Public Behavior from the Perspective of Shahid Motahhari: Implications for Designing Public Policy Tools

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Introduction

Governments use public policies to promote valuable goals such as protecting the environment, saving for retirement, reducing pollution, maintaining public health, etc., and try to direct people's behaviour in line with their views on the public interest. This view of policy can also be seen in the words of scholars such as Schneider and Ingram: "Public policy has almost always tried to get people to do things they would not otherwise do, or to enable them to do things that might be done in otherwise they do not" (Schneider & Ingram, 1990, p. 5).

The issue of changing people's behavior is a concern that governments have taken various approaches to address over time. Behavioral approach is one of the approaches that has recently grown and expanded in the knowledge of behavioural economics and is known as the choice architecture, nudge and behavioural public policy. Behavioural public policy is a policy intervention that is directly inspired by behavioural insights and is designed based on the principles of behavioural research (Galizzi 2014, p. 27). In this approach, policy makers use behavioural insights at all stages of the policy cycle (from problem definition to policy development and implementation) and have a more realistic view of human behaviour (Behavioural Insights Team, 2014, p. 8; OECD, 2019, pp. 45-48). Nudge-based and behavioural interventions, due to their high impact and very low cost, have been able to attract the attention of many policymakers around the world; Today, the use of this approach to change the behaviour of people around the world is widespread, and many

governments use the choice architecture by establishing an institution called "nudge unit".

By emphasizing external factors, both environmental and social, nudge tools try to influence people's choices and behaviours and change people's behaviour without major changes in their minds and insights. Scholars such as Thaler, Sunstein, Ariely, Kahneman, and Tversky argue that in this approach, governments do not use rules to force citizens to change their decisions, but instead use libertarian paternalism approach (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008, p. 5) and more subtle forms and methods to influence and guide people's behaviour. In this approach, choices and options are not eliminated but are influenced by different tools (Smith and Larimer, 2009, p. 210).

One of the most popular nudge policy tools and frameworks is the MINDSPACE framework. MINDSPACE stands for 9 levers for behaviour change: Messenger, Incentives, Norms, Defaults, Salience, Priming, Affect, Commitments, and Ego. Some of these components are used to explain involuntary factors influencing behaviour, such as Norms, Default, Salience, Priming, Affect, and Emotions. But some other influential factors are related to the components that are mostly based on reflective processes such as messenger, incentives, commitments and ego (Dolan et al., 2010, p. 18). The Behavioural Insights team in 2014 proposed a simpler framework than the MINDSCAPE framework known as EAST; According to this framework, the policymaker should pay attention to four components to design a good policy: (1) easy (2) attractive (3) social (4) timely (BIT, 2014, pp. 9-42).

Problem of research

But the important point is that applying this approach to change people's behavior has faced challenges in the past few years and has been criticized by various scholars. Most of these criticisms are related to its low, short-term effects and moral challenges (John and Stoker, 2019, p. 23). The main ethical challenge of this approach is that its mechanisms and tools are manipulative and exploit the cognitive weaknesses of individuals (Hansen, Jespersen, 2013, pp. 11-12). Critics believe that flips do not use people's rational and conscious ability, but rather weaken them. In fact, nudges rely on cognitive biases and inefficiencies, and through irrational or a rational processes (such as emotions) lead to bypassing rationality and pushing people toward specific goals (Schmidt & Englen, 2020, p. 5). In addition, in some nudge interventions, due to the specific type of behavioural mechanisms, such as the use of social pressure to encourage a particular behaviour, the person may be embarrassed and his or her dignity and respect may be damaged (Sunstein, 2013, p. 27).

Since this approach presents tools that affect human behaviour, here the question is First, what are the mechanisms of behaviour change in the view of Islam? Second, what is the view of Islam on the behavioural approach and tools that provoke irrational aspects of human beings and lead to influencing the behaviour of Muslims? And what is their position in the religious view?

Methodology
To answer these questions, all of Shahid Motahari's books were reviewed and data were collected by library research methods. Finally, the data analysis was performed by content analysis method with the help of MaxQDA software and then the second question was addressed by implication studies method.

Findings
Regarding the first question, information analysis led to the extraction of 128 codes in the form of 6 comprehensive themes, 17 organizing themes and 42 basic themes. Based on the research findings, behaviour change mechanisms were obtained according to the following diagram.
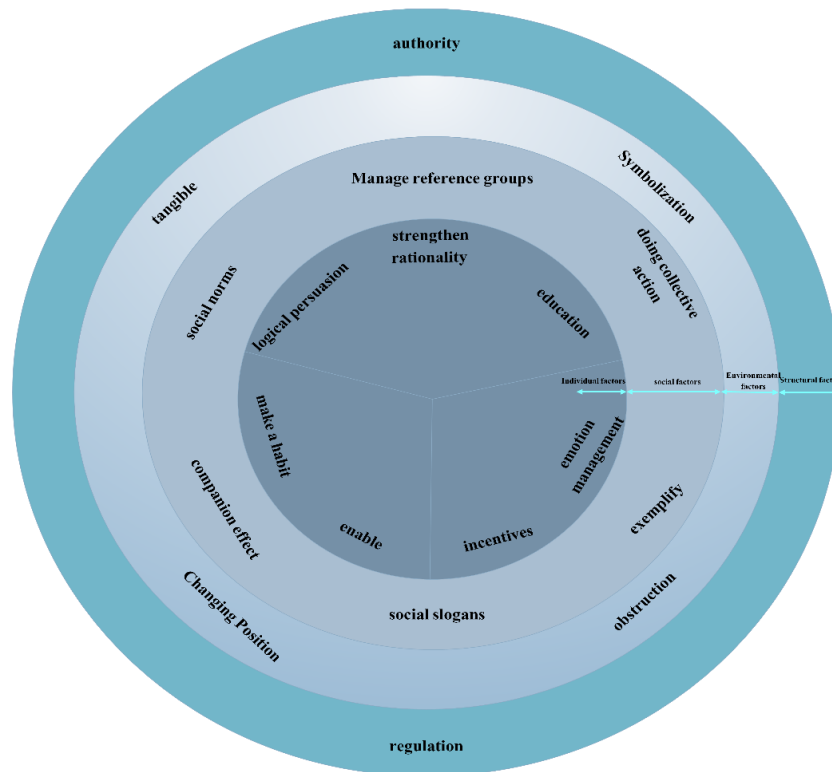
Diagram 0-1
Source: Research Findings

And regarding the second question, the following results were obtained:

1. One of the principles of behavioural approach is to rely on semi-conscious and involuntary processes and change without cognition and change of mind. According to Master Motahhari, intellect and will, and consequently consciousness and liberty, are the two main elements and pillars of human personality and one of the highest human values. Therefore, first of all, these two elements should not be marginalized in human; Second, individuals must be led to focus and rule on rational behaviours based on fetrat[1].

    In addition to insight levers, tendencies, action, environmental, structural and social levers can also be used to strengthen nature-based rational behaviours. The only condition is to be nature-oriented in

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1. Means the characteristics in the principle of human creation that are non-acquired, conscious, sacred, potential, fixed, universal and common to all human beings and are among the "human values" that are rooted in human nature.

order to strengthen rational behaviour. Therefore, the use of behavioural tools is legitimate and moral if it is in order to strengthen the rational behaviour of nature.

2. Another principle that is emphasized in the behavioural approach to change behaviour is the emphasis on influence through external factors including environmental factors and social factors. This approach tries to influence the individual's behaviour simply by changing external stimuli. So, first of all, how to influence behaviour is just from the outside in. Second, behavioural change interventions focus solely on attitudes and actions, without insight support. But in this regard, according to Shahid Motahhari, first of all, behaviour change should not occur only through external influence, but in addition to influencing external factors, internal factors should be strengthened and external factors should be seen as the basis and stomach of internal factors. Secondly, external factors must also affect consciousness, and if the influence on tendency and action also occurs, it must be supported by strengthening consciousness, otherwise there is no value for the behaviour and behaviour change is not continuous. In addition, as man goes through his path of growth and perfection, his dependence on environmental and social factors and the surrounding material conditions decreases and he achieves intellectual independence and will. In other words, human beings are less affected by external factors in their growth path, and by internalizing behaviour, they rely on internal factors. Relying on external and irrational factors over internal and rational factors, although they have a temporal priority, but they do not have a causal priority and ultimately should be cantered on internal factors.

3. As mentioned, one of the criticisms of the behavioural approach is its superficial and short-term effect. In the Islamic view, in the face of this issue, two types of behaviour change based on time can be named. Short-term repulsive change and gradual and long-term change. The important point is that the general strategy of these two types of change are different from each other and Islam has used both repulsive and gradual types. Changing repulsive behaviour is how you change from the outside in. To change repulsive behaviour, you must first provide an overview of the individuals, then focus on the action and the development of habits and etiquette. Such a change is in fact a move from action to insight that changes one's behaviour in the short term. In this type of change, mechanisms and tools are used that mainly change the action; Of course, from the Islamic point of view,

tools should be used that have the capacity for gradual change and in the long run can be used to strengthen awareness. But in gradually changing behaviour, the emphasis is on strengthening the individual's insights and moving from insight to action. This mode of change must take place in the continuation of the excretory change over a long period of time. With this type of change, deep insights are formed in the individual, and the changes that were made in the behaviour in a repulsive manner are deepened and continued.

4. One of the subtleties of the Islamic view of changing public behaviour is the adoption of different strategies for both the public and the elite. Similar to the behavioural approach, in Motahhari's view, most people are in public category and most of their behaviour is based on irrational principles, and a minority in the society is in the elite category and most of their behaviour is based on rational principles. In general, in order to influence the public, the strategy of strengthening action has a greater effect and on the elites, than the strategy of strengthening consciousness. In other words, since the behaviour of the common people is based on irrational principles such as emotions, norms and social atmosphere, habits, etc., in order to change behaviour, one must start intervening from tendency and action factors. With the help of structural, environmental and social factors, one should try to change one's action into nature-based rational behaviour. The main point that distinguishes the behavioural approach and the Islamic approach is that the change of action and then the tendency, after a while should lead to a change of insight. Although every action initially requires a basic and concise insight and tendency, from the Islamic point of view, if a mere change of action occurs and the change of insight does not occur in its direction, it is of little use and value. Unlike the public, the origin of the behaviour of elites is the rational principles. According to this point, the strategy of influencing the behaviour of elites and changing their behaviour should also start from changing insights. A change of insight leads to a change of attitude and then a change of action. On this basis, the use of environmental, social and structural factors should affect the insight of elite more than the effect on action.

Therefore, in Islamic education, there are two approaches to change behaviour, including (1) strengthening insight and (2) strengthening action. Attention to action and the creation of environmental, structural and social contexts are important in both approaches. Its importance in the first strategy is that if people were

aware of the desired behaviour and had a tendency to occur, with this bedrock, they will no longer face obstacles to performing the behaviour and can more easily realize their knowledge and desires. In the second strategy, the emphasis on action leads to the preparation and capacity of individuals for desirable insights and tendencies. In this regard, the use of nudge tools can be of great help to policy makers. But these nudge tools should be used with an Islamic approach and these must have legitimacy and an educational approach. In the educational approach, relying on the principle of strengthening rational behaviour is with the focus on the two elements of thinking and will. This principle should be considered by policy makers in using each nudge tool. Secondly, it should be in the direction of desirable Islamic goals; both material and spiritual. The next important point is that along with environmental, structural and social context, we should not neglect to strengthen the insight and its important role. The Islamic government must fulfil its mission of propaganda and persuasion by increasing insight. Because, in the end, insight takes precedence over action, and action without the support of insight and knowledge is of little value. Therefore, people must reach deep knowledge, insight and awareness.