

A Historical Trend of Ethnic Cleavages in Contemporary Iran¹

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Abstract

The goal of this study is evaluation social and historical content of social cleavage in contemporary Iran. Analytical framework rooted in Rokan theory. Rokan believed that social cleavage appearance post of revolutions. Method of study was historical comparatives. The method of this research is comparative historical in which we used of historical documents and data. In this field, I have compared data of indexes of socio-economic of ethnic states. Assessment of data and documents show that social cleavages and particularly ethnic cleavages rise after Reza shah revolution. He established centralized and dictated government and divided society of Iran and institutionalization the inequality in social structure. Sense of deprivation about inequality and suited circumstance activated ethnic cleavage in Iran. Decrease of inequality and justice could decrease of social deprivation and deactivated social cleavages.

Key words: Social Cleavage, Iran, Ethnic Cleavage

Introduction

The notion of social cleavages is a fundamental aspect of contemporary political science. Scholars, since the 1980s, have engaged themselves in the process of interpreting what a social cleavage is, and consequently how social cleavages influence electoral behavior, patters of party organization, and above all party systems.

The concept of social cleavages was introduced in 1967 by Seymour Lipset and Stein Rokkan in their renowned scientific article: «Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments». Since then, the concept of cleavages acquired essential salience for the world of political science. «The notion of a cleavage implies much more than a mere division, more even than an outright conflict» (Gallagher, Laver, Mair, 2006: 264). For Lipset and Rokkan, a cleavage contains three tangible connotations: «First, a cleavage involves a social division The concept of social cleavages was introduced in 1967 by Seymour Lipset and Stein Rokkan in their renowned scientific article: «Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments». Since then, the concept of cleavages acquired essential salience for the world of political science. «The notion of a cleavage implies much more than a mere division, more even than an outright conflict»

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(Gallagher, Laver, Mair, 2006: 264). For Lipset and Rokkan, a cleavage contains three tangible connotations: «First, a cleavage involves a social division Social cleavage is a division between political parties and Social class, religion, geographic regions, urban/rural areas and interest groups. These are significant because they generally determine party affiliation and how to appeal to each group. Karl Marx believed middle and upper class citizens to be mostly conservatives, while the working class were more progressive, however social class alone does not determine political affiliation. Religion is a better determining factor than social class because people who are affiliated with their specific religion tend to vote along the lines of what their church or other religious institution holds to be important. Rural areas tend to lean more to the left especially where development is still in progress, compared to modernized cities or urban areas where living conditions are better and education is more readily available. Geography is important because of the differing viewpoints in sections of regions. An example might be Ireland and the struggle between the north and south for political dominance. Contemporary analysis speaks of the emergence of new cleavages. The traditional opposition between Owner and Worker (Capital and Work) is being differentiated further among those who have work/are employable and those who are not. Further, sex becomes another cleavage, especially in regard to getting and maintaining a paid labor position.

Review of literature

Hanspeter Kriesi recognizes the emergence of moral – value cleavages, implying however, at the same time, that this change does not necessarily means the end of structured politics and social divisions. On the contrary, Kriesi asserts that the new cleavages have emerged from the political heritage of the traditional ones (Kriesi, 1998:165). The decline of the traditional cleavages importance and the parallel emergence of new value – moral cleavages, are strongly interconnected with the emergence of a ‘new middle class’, «that constitutes the major population fragment in the Western European democracies» (Kriesi, 1998: 168). In a similar post – materialist vein, Dalton argues for the emergence of a new more modern and more politically sophisticated electorate that holds an enhanced individual economic status, and has access, particularly through television, to a huge amount of information regarding politics. Consequently, this more educated and with a higher quality of life electorate, acts more as an individual³, rather than on a collective and sub cultural basis. «Hence, the old politics, based on a massive scale on the class cleavage⁴, are being replaced by some new politics, based on a whole of social cleavages» (Dalton et al, 1984: 21).

A bout ethnicity and its trend and results of ethnic conflict in Iran have been done significant researches but no of them attention and assessment of ethnic cleavage in particular. In JalayiPoor (1990) view five factor of correlation, political party, border situation, elites and modern government causes of ethnic conflicts in Iran.

But in the historical research of Ahmady (1995) International system, political elites and government attitudes reasons of ethnic uprising specially among Kurds, Turks and Baluches in Iran. Others such AmirAhmady (1999:219) attention to subject and object factors such ideology, culture, inequality.

Some others consider to variable elements such structure discourse, deprivation and undeveloping of ethnic societies (Balali, 1990, Habibi, 2000, Koohshkaf, 1990. Entessar, 1992, Gurr and scarpit, 1989).

Theoretical frameworks

Social and political scientist tries to elaborated theory about ethnicity. Those perspective were so extensive that we couldn't review all of them, some of them attention to permanent and some of them consider to new and modern factors (seeferon.2005). For this study we concentrated on Rokan theory.

Stein Rokan (1967) defined four basic cleavages for western civilization after the Industrial Revolution. According to Lipset and Rokan, these cleavages determined the emergence and the content of all European parties.

Center – Periphery - The division between elites in the urban areas, and those in more outlying areas. This usually expresses itself in terms of regional nationalism. For example, in Spain many regions have regionalist or separatist parties. This division is, according to Lipset and Rokan, caused by the creation of modern nation-states, where some states were better than others at assimilating other cultures into the majority nation.

State – Church - A division between religious and secular voters. In the Netherlands until the 1970s there were five major parties: the Catholic People's Party (KVP), the Protestant Anti Revolutionary Party (ARP) and Christian Historical Union (CHU), the social democratic Dutch Labour Party (PvdA), and the liberal People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD), the last two being secular.

Owner – Worker - A class cleavage, causing the formation of parties of the left and parties of the right. Sometimes it is argued that this cleavage represents a conflict between the rich and poor. Various parties have claimed to represent either interest, though this may or may not be genuine.

Land – Industry - Continued state exercise of control over Tariffs against freedom of control for industrial enterprise.

Research questions

- Which is the base of historical ethnic cleavage?
- Under which conditions, these cleavages to be activated?
- How to reduce or resolve these problems?

Methods

The method of this research is comparative historical in which we used of historical documents and data. In this field, I have compared data of indexes of socio-economic of ethnic states. Data are from The Statistical Center of Iran.

In this field we attention to the shares and differences among provinces. At the same time comparisons historical for consider social gaps in one hand and consider to the social organization and activities that build up on the social cleavages.

Analysis

In the Qajar era we have not social cleavage and ethnicity in Iran. When Reza shah come to power and change the social structure of society ethnic cleavages activated. Reza shah take the Cultural model of nationalism for Iran, concentrated everything in capital and forbidden ethnic culture and customs. He get economic program for developing of country but the distribution of resource and income not justice. For this purpose we must consider some data (table.1)

Table.1) indexes for comparison of states in 1975

state	Big factory per 100000	grade	Value product 1000	of per	grade	Persons industrial 1000	in per	grade
all	15/7					1/2		
Tehran	33/4	1	45925	2		33/3		1
Gilan	12/6	5	24960	3		8		5
Mazandaran	10/7	7	9396	6		7/8		6
East Azarbijan	23	3	3976	9		6/5		7
West Azarbijan	8/1	9	1927	14		3		12
Kermanshah	7/8	10	3364	10		26		13
Khositan	9	8	54850	1		12/2		4
Fars	7/6	11	6808	7		5		9
Krman	7/3	12	2734	13		1/2		14
Khorasan	11	6	4783	8		5/1		8
Isfahan	22/5	4	19145	4		24/2		2
Sistan and blughstan	0/9	21	4/5	21		1/4		19
Kurdistan	1/7	20	742	18		0/5		22
Hamadan	6/1	13	1232	17		1/8		16
Chahar mahal w bakhtiary	3/2	17	628	19		0/75		21
Lorestan	4/6	15	1335	11		3/4		11
Kokiloye bouer ahmad	0/9	22	425	22		0/8		22
Boshahr	3	18	1704	15		2		15
Zanjan	2/3	19	506	20		1/2		18
Simnan	4/7	14	2825	12		3/4		10
Yazd	27/8	2	13705	5		22		3
Hormizgan	1/4	16	1445	16		1/8		17

(Reference: Center of Statistical in Iran1975)

When we consider to the ethnic situation in provinces know that this program evaluated situation of some group and decrease the grade and circumstance of other in country. For most illustrated pay to another table after ten years of programming (table.2).

Table.2) indexes for comparison of states in 1985

state	Big factory per 100000	grade	Value product 1000	of per	grade	Persons industrial 1000	in per	grade
all	15/7		49154					
Tehran	22/2	5	115868	2	31	2		
Markazi	31/5	2	94393	3	9	3		
Gilan	11/9	8	40325	6	19	6		
Mazandaran	10/6	10	30555	10	10	9		
East Azarbijan	10/5	11	32090	9	8	10		
West Azarbijan	8/2	13	8284	18	3	18		
Kermanshah	4/9	20	11139	14	4	15		
Khositan	5/1	18	36294	7	10	8		
Fars	10/5	12	27243	11	8	11		
Krman	5/6	16	9664	16	3	19		
Khorasan	11/5	9	21715	12	7	12		
Isfahan	24/5	3	70865	5	25	3		
Sistan and blughstan	5/5	17	1773	22	1	22		
Kurdistan	6	15	1799	21	1	21		
Hamadan	14/2	7	13329	13	5	14		
Chahar mahal w bakhtiary	4/8	21	3356	19	2	20		
Lorestan	6/8	12	9926	15	5	13		
Kokiloye bouer ahmad	2/3	24	442	24	02/0	24		
Boshahr	3/9	22	3031	20	3	16		
Zanjan	17/9	6	127844	1	32	1		
Simnan	24/5	4	34239	8	14	7		
Yazd	35	1	76603	4	23	4		
Hormizgan	5	19	8459	17	3	17		

(Reference: Center of Statistical in Iran1985)

In this table is ethnic inequality is very clearly and institionalized. People divided in groups some of developing and other under developing. This story has a long tale .for more attentions look at table.3.

Table.3) comparison industrial grades of states in 1974, 1984, 1994

1974			1984			1994		
grade	name	Grade of industrialization	grade	name	Grade of industrialization	grade	name	Grade of industrialization
1	Khositan	0/509	1	Isfahan	0/647	1	Khositan	0/461
2	Tehran	0/655	2	Tehran	0/727	2	Krman	0/569
3	Isfahan	0/666	3	Zanjan	0/753	3	Isfahan	0/676
4	Fars	0/673	4	Khositan	0/768	4	Tehran	0/732
5	Krman	0/738	5	East Azarbijan	0/779	5	Fars	0/747
6	Gilan	0/768	6	Krman	0/780	6	Yazd	0/767
7	Mazandaran	0/772	7	Yazd	0/792	7	Zanjan	0/767
8	Khorasan	0/793	8	Fars	0/805	8	Lorestan	0/774
9	Kermanshah	0/801	9	Lorestan	0/808	9	Gilan	0/801
10	Yazd	0/820	10	Mazandaran	0/829	10	Mazandaran	0/806
11	Lorestan	0/723	11	Khorasan	0/838	11	Hormizgan	0/807
12	Boshahr	0/825	12	Gilan	0/849	12	East Azarbijan	0/811
13	East Azarbijan	0/833	13	Simnan	0/861	13	Khorasan	0/834
14	Hamadan	0/837	14	Hormizgan	0/861	14	Kermanshah	0/847
15	West Azarbijan	0/852	15	Kermanshah	0/867	15	Simnan	0/852
16	Hormizgan	0/853	16	West Azarbijan	0/874	16	Hamadan	0/856
17	Simnan	0/858	17	Sistan	0/903	17	Chahar mahal	0/866
18	Kokiloye bouer ahmad	0/862	18	Kurdistan	0/942	18	Kokiloye bouer ahmad	0/869
19	Kurdistan	0/862	19	Hamadan	0/942	19	Boshahr	0/871
20	Chahar mahal	0/871	20	Boshahr	0/942	20	Sistan	0/877
21	Zanjan	0/892	21	Chahar mahal	0/953	21	West Azarbijan	0/882
22	Sistan	0/982	22	Kokiloye	0/965	22	Kurdistan	0/911

				bouer ahmad				
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This table shows near 20 years of planning for developing but when we consider to the outcome resulted that society divided by mismanagements.

Conclusions

The goal of this study was explore the context of ethnic cleavages in Iran. Data and tables show that circumstance of ethnic in society is divided by inequality. Inequality in economin, oppourtunity and works. This situation causes ethnic activities that we know as ethnic cleavages. The Reza shah program and continue by others was the important factors in subjects, try to resolve and take off obstacle could decrease or resolve activated ethnic cleavage in Iran.

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25

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