



Political Ethnocentrism among the People of Talesh and Evaluation of the Factors affecting it

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Abstract:

The Talesh people have a much smaller population compared to other Iranian ethnic groups, but due to the geographical, geopolitical and religious characteristics of the western region of Gilan province, the threats of political ethnicity in this ethnic group should not be ignored. Studies show that in studies focused on ethnicity in Iran, research on the Talesh people has not been seriously considered by researchers, so the main purpose of this study is to investigate the situation of political ethnicity among the Talesh people and evaluate the factors affecting it. This research has been done by survey method and has collected data using a questionnaire. The statistical population of the study is 480 people aged 15 years and older in Rezvanshahr, Masal, Soomehsara, Fooman, Hashtpar, Asalem, Astara and Lundil. The results of the research show that the respondents have a high level of political ethnicity. Also, the examination of hypotheses showed that out of the five contextual variables studied (religion, dialect, education, age and place of birth and upbringing), only two variables of religion and dialect were related to political ethnicity.

Keywords: Iran, Political ethnicity, Religion, Dialect, Ethnicity

Introduction

Ethnicity is one of the most complex issues in many countries today, and countries with cultural, social, and ethnic diversity face a variety of challenges and problems. The influence of ethnic tendencies on radical behavior and the growth of divergent conflicts in most of these countries has led to the emergence of social, political and security crises, and in some cases in its violent form has led to civil war and bloody conflicts.

Is the existence of multiple ethnic and religious groups in all societies is a potential threat to undermining national solidarity and cohesion and, consequently, to reducing national security. Therefore, every political system must have clear and codified ethnic policies regarding its ethnic groups in order to curb this potential threat and turn it into an opportunity, because ill-considered, ignorant and sometimes conflicting ethnic policies are ethnic relations. It leads to the escalation of ethnic conflicts, the activation of ethnic divisions and the weakening of national security.

Historical studies show that after the 1960s, with the revival of ethnic identities and the conflicts based on them, the issue of ethnicity has become one of the main topics in the world and consequently in scientific studies, especially in the field of political sociology. The phenomenon of ethnicity refers to the attitude that an ethnic or cultural group has superiority over other ethnicities and cultures. The term was first coined in 1906 by William Graham Sumner (Sumner, 1906). Some scholars have divided ethnocentrism into two categories:

cultural and economic ethnocentrism (Hooghe, 2008, p. 4).

However, another form of ethnocentrism has spread in recent decades, especially with the end of the Cold War and the strengthening of the process of globalization, the dimensions and political implications of which are of great importance. This new form, called political ethnocentrism, includes any conscious effort to protect or improve the relative status of a group or ethnic group by shaping state policy or political representation. This effort can include prioritizing all-ethnic politicians, opposing political actions that support another ethnic group, or policies that promote a single culture and language (Allen & Barter, 2017, p. 3). In fact, political ethnocentrism is a type of ethnocentrism that, in addition to trying to preserve ethnic identity, seeks to participate in political power based on the ethnic component.

Some scholars have emphasized factors such as language, race, religion, and gender in explaining the origin of ethnicity. These scholars have an old-fashioned or primitive approach to ethnocentrism and try to trace the origins of ethnocentrism to natural, biological, and cultural phenomena that are of a long, primitive nature. They are unlike instrumentalists who see ethnicity as a tool for the political and social mobilization of members of a particular group in order to secure specific political interests and demands, as well as constructivists who have made ethnicity a constructed and addressed process. They know the exchange of

meaning, relying on the specific biological, cultural and social characteristics of each group, they deal with the ethnocentrism derived from it and emphasize the need to pay attention to it and prioritize it (Allen & Barter, 2017, p. 3).

According to this approach, each ethnic group has its own history, criteria of kinship, economic style, rules and rituals, language, literature and art, which distinguish the culture of a society from other societies and represent the cultural identity of that society (Azin and Pir Mohammadi, 2009, p. 140). It is through this relation to others (Rezaei and Ahmadi, 2004, p. 81). In other words, individuals identify with their ethnic group and have a strong desire to relate their personal interests to the interests of the group, often motivated to participate in collective action to pursue the status and power of the group.

Language, religion and geography, as the three main components of ethnic identity, play a key role in creating commonalities among ethnic members and also in creating ethnic distinction from other ethnic groups. In fact, according to these approaches, ethnocentrism is the result of a strong identification of a people, which in many cases automatically leads to negative feelings and stereotypes about other races (Hooghe, 2008, pp. 2-3). (Hooghe, 2008, p. 4). However, another type of ethnocentrism has spread in the last few decades, especially with the end of the Cold War and the strengthening of the globalization process, whose dimensions and political effects are of great importance. This new type, called

political ethnocentrism, includes any conscious effort to protect or improve the relative status of a group or ethnic group by shaping government policy or political representation.

This effort can include giving priority to politicians of the same ethnicity, opposing political actions supporting another ethnic group or policies that promote a single culture and language (Allen & Barter, 2017, p. 3). In fact, political ethnocentrism is one of the types of ethnocentrism that, in addition to trying to preserve the ethnic identity, wants to participate in political power based on the Some experts have emphasized factors such as language, race, religion and gender in explaining the origin of ethnocentrism.

These experts have an old-fashioned approach to ethnocentrism and try to find the origin of ethnocentrism in natural, biological, and cultural phenomena that are ancient and eternal in nature. They are unlike instrumentalists who consider ethnicity as a tool for political and social mobilization of members of a particular group in order to secure specific political interests and demands, and also unlike constructivists who consider ethnicity as a matter of being made and dealt with during a process of They know the exchange of meaning, relying on the specific biological, cultural and social characteristics of each group, they address the ethnicism that originates from it and emphasize the need to pay attention and prioritize it (Allen & Barter, 2017, p. 3).

According to this approach, each ethnic group has its own history, kinship rules, economic method, religious regulations and

rituals, language, literature and art, which distinguish the culture of a society from other societies and represent the cultural identity of that society ethnic component. social commonalities and membership in social groups and categories that individuals acquire their social identity and gain a kind of self-knowledge in (Azin and PirMohammadi, 2008, p. 140). It is through these social commonalities and membership in social groups and categories that people acquire their social identity and gain a kind of self-knowledge in relation to others (Rezaei and Ahmadlou, 2013, p. 81).

In other words, people identify themselves with their ethnic group and have a strong tendency to associate their personal interest with the interests of the group, they are often motivated to participate in collective actions to pursue the status and power of the group. Language, religion and geography, as the three main components of ethnic identity, play the main role in creating commonality among ethnic members and also creating ethnic distinction from other ethnic groups. In fact, according to these approaches, ethnocentrism is the result of a strong identification of an ethnic group, which in many cases automatically leads to negative feelings and stereotyping towards other ethnic groups (Hooghe, 2000, pp. 2-3).

Iran is one of the multi-ethnic countries where the national identity is a comprehensive combination of the identity of different ethnic groups. However, the excessive emphasis of a nation on its identity may lead to the weakening of national identity and solidarity, disruption of social

cohesion and territorial integrity. Cultural diversity and ethnic context in Iran is a unique and complex phenomenon because it represents a pattern of unity in the same plurality. In other words, Iranian ethnic groups have had positive interaction and organic solidarity under the umbrella of Iranian identity throughout history, and this multiplicity is the foundation of It has been national identity and solidarity. At the same time, it should be noted that many ethnic groups live in border areas and are neighbors with countries of the same language and ethnic origin, and incorrect cultural policies can highlight deviant ethnic identity and lead to weakening become a national identity and face a crisis of national cohesion.

Gilan province is one of the small provinces of Iran, which has a great capacity to strengthen or weaken national solidarity due to its relatively high ethnic diversity. In this province, the Gilak, Talesh, Turk, Kurd, Tat and Ler ethnic groups live together. But among these tribes, only two tribes, Gilak and Talesh, have a longer history of presence in this geographical area. Talesh tribe, as the second largest tribe in Gilan province, with a population of over 500,000 people, occupies about a third of the territory of the province.

Although this foam has a smaller population compared to other Iranian ethnic groups, but considering the geographical and geopolitical features of the region, the strengthening of ethnic identity and political ethnocentrism in this region of the country is not far from expected. The characteristics and cultural and political coordinates of the Talesh tribe show that this tribe, like other

Iranian tribes, has great capacities to strengthen national solidarity, but due to various reasons, including the density of ethnic and religious divides, as well as the pathological policies of the neighboring countries. The ethnic situation in this region should not be neglected.

From the point of view of solidarity and national security, it is very important that the Talesh people living on both sides of the border between Iran and the Republic of Azerbaijan are highly interested in the countries of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Russia, Israel, Saudi Arabia and the United States. Armenia is trying to strengthen the efforts of this country in order to weaken Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan is trying to weaken the Talesh due to its historical background and tendencies of friendship with Iran, as well as the history of the national movement of this people and the fear of the danger of political ethno-nationalism in its country. Russia In order to put pressure on Azerbaijan, he is trying to strengthen Taleshian.

In order to expand its strategic depth in the region and confront the Islamic Republic of Iran, Israel infiltrated the northern part of the Republic of Azerbaijan and carried out espionage operations against Iran. The Caspian and the Caucasus region and benefiting from its resources, such as having oil and gas resources, etc., pay attention to this people as a pressure lever. Although among the Talesh people of Azerbaijan, Shiites have the majority compared to the Sunnis, Saudi Arabia and Qatar have also invested and planned on the potential of the

Sunni minority of the Talesh people, and in this way they are trying to bring the Talesh people of Iran and Azerbaijan under their influence and domination. put One of their efforts to influence the Talesh people of Iran has been to lay the groundwork for ISIS group membership among the Talesh people of Gilan.

Based on this, it can be claimed that political ethnocentrism among the Talesh people can be one of the bases for weakening or threatening nation. Considering the importance of political convergence among Iranian ethnic groups and its impact on maintaining national unity and territorial integrity of the country and strengthening national security, this article tries to explain the origin of ethnocentrism by using theoretical approaches, especially by relying on old-style approaches or It investigates the effect of the five factors of religion, age, dialect, education and place of residence on the formation or strengthening of political ethnocentrism in the western cities of Gilan province.

In other words, the findings of this research can show the extent and intensity Political ethnocentrism among the Talesh people and root causes and factors affecting it and providing solutions to reduce political ethnocentrism in this region, the degree of influence, several eternal components such as religion, language and dialect, and the place of birth and upbringing, comparing with several The non-eternal component such as education and age in the analysis of the causes and factors of ethnocentrism should be included in the evaluation and field test.

Research background

The studies conducted show that, fortunately, relatively extensive and good literature has been produced and published regarding the ratio of national identity and ethnic identity among Iranian ethnic groups. There is no effort and factors affecting those serious and respectable scientific works. In the following, we refer to the results of some works related to the subject: national unity in Iran. be counted: Abdoli (2010) in an article titled "Cultural, Social and Political View of Talesh People" has tried to examine the different aspects of Talesh People's life, especially in terms of religion, language and customs. The author of the article tried to prove this opinion. that despite the civil, industrial, educational and health developments that have occurred in Talshan region in the years after the revolution, this region is prone to identity crisis and the penetration and spread of pan-Turkic propaganda is one of the examples of this crisis.

In this article, the necessity of correct understanding The authorities have emphasized the critical and decisive position of Qom-Talesh in the southwestern Caspian region and the role it can play in neutralizing pan-Turkist conspiracies. The author claims that Qom-Talesh should not be viewed negatively. because this attitude causes the lack of cultural development of this people and the lack of benefiting from its rich cultural and social potentials in expanding relations and cultural nourishment of the Northern effort and reducing identity damage. Mandari and Ghorbani Rik (2016) in an article entitled "Cultural and Social

Contexts of Coexistence of Ethnic Groups in Talesh Society" investigate why and how the group relations and peaceful coexistence of different ethnic groups of Turks, Talesh, Kurds, Tat and Gilak in The region has investigated and concluded that shared historical experience, cultural and social exchanges, division of labor and proper socialization have been effective in the coexistence of these ethnic groups. Mohammadzadeh (2013) in his thesis, under the title of factors related to types of ethnocentrism among Iranian Kurds, has shown that there is a significant relationship between the type of dialect, the type of religion, the type of feeling of discrimination, and the type of mass media used by a person with his ethnocentrism. , but there is no significant relationship between a person's place of upbringing and his type of ethnocentrism.

According to the findings of the research, the researcher has concluded that ethnocentrism is a multifactorial phenomenon, and the role of culture and politics is prominent in it.

Shadrou and Mohammadzadeh (2013) in their article under the title of factors affecting the continuity and disintegration of political ethnocentrism have shown that political ethnocentrism is at a high level in 77% of Kurds and factors such as the type of dialects of the Kurdish language (Urani, Kalhori, Sorani and Kormanji), the type of religion (Sunni, Shia, Yarsan), consumer media (television) and feeling of discrimination (political, cultural and socio-economic) have a significant relationship with the political ethnocentrism of Kurds; But a person's place

of upbringing (city, village) has no significant relationship with the level of his political ethnocentrism.

In an article entitled "Qualitative study of religion and ethnocentrism among Shia and Sunni Kurds", Serajzadeh et al. (2013) have shown that among Iranian Kurds, religion plays a significant role in ethnocentrism. The comparison of the research results from the two groups of Sunni and Shiite interviewees shows that these two groups have similarities only in the two categories of "dissatisfaction with the government" and "secular perception of religion" and in other cases such as the attitude towards the Kurdish identity and the Iranian identity. And the relationship between religion and ethnicity has fundamental differences with each other.

The results of Kadirzadeh and Mohammadzadeh's research (2017) published in an article titled Survey Study of Ethnic Identity and Politicization of Iranian Kurds, show that ethnic identity is more among Sunni Kurds and the level of ethnic identity among Sunnis is low. The Shiite Kurds show the separating role of religion in the ethnic divide. Shiite Kurds define their ethnic identity as a subset of Iranian national identity, but the type of ethnicism among Sunni Kurds has a political nature.

In an article, Ranch et al. (2006) showed a positive relationship between religious fundamentalism and ethnicism and concluded that there is a negative relationship between tolerance for religious differences and ethnicism and religious fundamentalism.

The results of Myosen et al.'s (2013) research show that more than half of the

initial correlation between education and ethnocentrism can be attributed to cognitive ability and job status mechanisms. However, the remaining part of the overall correlation should still be considered as a direct relationship between education and ethnocentrism. This direct relationship can be attributed to social desirability or to the direct effect of liberalizing education on social and political attitudes. Analyzes show that increasing the average level of education in western societies may lead to less ethnic attitudes through the mechanism of cognitive development.

The results of the article by Allen and Barter (2017) show that the level of religious activity of Indonesian Muslims has a strong relationship with the declared preference for the leadership of people of the same ethnicity. These findings strongly suggest that the relationship between Muslim religious participation and ethnocentrism extends beyond Western Christian contexts.

The results of the research of Fernandez-Ferrin et al. (2017) show that despite the low level of ethnocentrism among young people, the influence of parents is greater than the influence of other variables. The exploratory analysis presented in the article confirms the assumption that ethnocentrism is a general tendency acquired during childhood through the process of socialization.

In general, it should be said that the results of the literature review and the background of the research show that although there have been good studies and field researches about the phenomenon of ethnocentrism among Iranian ethnic groups

and the causes and factors affecting it, but firstly, only a few researches have been conducted. The political ethnocentrism of the ethnic groups has been concentrated, secondly, the community investigated in this research was the Kurds, and there is no research on the political ethnocentrism of other Iranian ethnic groups.

The attention of some neighboring countries and the region to this ethnic group in their divisive policies in Iran, unfortunately extensive and reliable research has not been done on the cultural and political coordinates of the western region of Gilan province, and especially on the important and strategic issue of political ethnocentrism. Almost no valid scientific work has been done among the ethnic groups. Therefore, this research, relying on the theoretical foundations and the results of previous studies on different Iranian ethnic groups, tries to fill this gap as much as possible and the causes and factors affecting the ethnic group. Try to investigate the political orientation among the tribe.

Theoretical Framework :

The primordial theoretical approach on the nature and roots of ethnocentrism forms the framework of this article. This approach is against the instrumentalist and constructivist viewpoints and tries to search for the origin of ethnic identity in natural, biological and cultural phenomena that have an ancient and eternal nature. This is while instrumentalists consider ethnicity as a substitute for more basic social forces such as class or a tool at the disposal of self-interested people who use

ethnic masses to achieve their ambitious political, economic or social goals. Some instrumentalists consider the world to consist of rational and calculating people who seek to increase their security, economic prosperity, social status or power, and in the meantime, ethnicity is used by ambitious leaders and politicians as a tool to create numerous followers. It goes so that they can achieve their goals and guarantee their power (Ozkrimli, 1994, p. 137).

In other words, in the view and approach of instrumentalism, ethnicity is basically a tool for political and social mobilization of members of a particular group in order to secure interests and demands. specific political (Seyed Emami, 2017, 2, p. 21). Also, the constructivists consider ethnicity as something created and dealt with during a process of exchange of meaning among members, in other words, ethnicity is not a material and natural thing, but a matter It is fluid and unfixed that the interactions and relationships between the members of the group have caused it to be built. This approach, like the instrumentalist approach, considers the role of economic and social factors to be effective in creating ethnicity, but it does not emphasize only instrumental motives in the creation of ethnicity.

Anthony Smith has divided the ancients into three categories. The first group are thinkers who have a naturalistic approach to ethnic identity and consider a person's ethnicity to be his birth partner and nations as natural borders. According to this approach, a person's sense of ethnic belonging arises at the same time as his birth in a group and

cannot be changed. This school of thought considers the sense of belonging to an ethnic group to be rooted in history because blood and family ties create such a feeling in a person. The second approach has a biological approach to ethnic identity and ethnocentrism.

The thinkers of this trend believe that the historical continuity of the identity and solidarity of ethnic groups is caused by the innate human drive or taste for the continuation of reproduction and continuity and maximizing the heritage and genetic capital. Just as humans reproduce for the continuation of the generation, human communities also preserve the culture, traditions and values that belong to them and consider them as a part of their personality and extend them to the future. From this point of view, ethnic groups are considered as a wide kinship network, and cultural symbols such as language, religion, skin color, etc. are used as signs of biological kinship (Smith, 2013, pp. 77-79).

The thinkers of the third approach, who can be called cultural primordialists, follow three main ideas in their works. First, ethnic ties are eternal, and these ties are more natural or even spiritual than sociological. Second, eternal feelings are powerful and compelling, that is, if a person is a member of a group, the special ties of that group and the practices governing it, especially language, are necessary. and will feel the culture, and thirdly, ethnic identity is basically a matter of feelings and emotions. Smith considers the most influential form of primordialism to be a cultural approach and believes that ethnic

groups are formed based on attachment to cultural ideas (Goudarzi, 1999, p. 67).

Considering the importance and position of ancient elements in Talshan region, in this article, using this theoretical framework, it is tried to evaluate the impact of various factors on political ethnocentrism among the Talshan people. Geographically, the Talshan region is a forested and humid strip that starts from the west of Gilan and extends to the Republic of Azerbaijan. This region is divided into two parts and its southern part is located in the north of Iran and its northern part is located in the Republic of Azerbaijan. After 200 years, these two parts still have ancestral and kinship relations with each other and share historical interests and cultural and ethnic interactions. The people of the region speak Turkish and Farsi with Talshi dialect, and the majority of the people are Shiites, but a part of the population is Sunni Shafi'i. The Talesh people are exposed to the promotion of pan-Turkic trends, but they resist this attack, especially the promotion of the Turkish language.

Considering the importance of the debates of the ancients about the origin of ethnocentrism, as well as the role and place of important components such as religion and language among the Talesh people, this article tries to explain the role of some ancient variables such as religion, language and dialect, and the place of birth and It examines upbringing in comparison with some non-eternal variables such as education and age and analyzes to what extent these variables can influence political ethnocentrism as one of the manifestations of

ethnocentrism and ethnic identity among Iran's efforts. Explain.

Research hypotheses:

Main hypothesis: Among the eternal components, two variables, religion, language and dialect, have an effect on political ethnocentrism among Talesh people.

1. There is a relationship between the type of dialect and the level of political ethnocentrism among Talesh people.

2. There is a relationship between the type of religion and the level of political ethnocentrism among Talesh people.

3. There is a relationship between the level of education and the level of political ethnocentrism among Talesh people.

4-There is a relationship between the age variable and the level of political ethnocentrism among Talesh people.

5. There is a relationship between a person's place of upbringing and the level of political ethnocentrism among Talesh people.

Concepts of research:

In this research, political ethnocentrism is the dependent variable and the five components of religion, dialect, place of residence, age and education are the independent variables. In the following, each of these concepts and variables will be defined:

Political Ethnocentrism: Ethnocentrism is a complex, multidimensional and historical phenomenon and it appears in different forms in different political, social and historical conditions. James Klass believes that ethnocentrism is the feeling of belonging to a nation and seeing oneself as superior and the

feeling of oppression of rights that leads to trying to gain what has been lost (Kellas, 2004, p. 3).

Political ethnocentrism is one of the types of ethnocentrism that, in addition to trying to maintain the distinction of ethnic culture, wants to participate in political power based on the ethnic component (Shadroo and Mohammadzadeh, 2010, p. 213). In order to measure the level of political ethnocentrism, attention has been paid to the factors that are more important in order to make political demands from the ethnic aspect. These factors include participation in regional and national management, elections, political parties, etc.

Religion: Religion is one of the important and influential factors and components in ethnic identity and political and social interactions. Religion and religion, in addition to being an indicator of collective identity, shape people's beliefs about existence and social institutions. Many ancientists consider religion and religion to be an attribute that is associated with human beings from birth (Karimi, 2017, p. 90). In this research, a two-choice question was used to operationalize the religion variable, which determines whether the respondents are Shia or Sunni. Also, the third option is placed as "Other" so that if there are people with other religions, they will be removed from the research.

Language and dialect: Some thinkers consider language to be an important and special factor in creating ethnic belonging among cultural traits. According to them, ethnic identity is basically formed on the

basis of language as the main identifier of ethnic origin. You cannot find an ethnic group that does not have a common language, while other commonalities in cultural traits such as customs are everywhere there is.

(Seyed Emami, 2003, p. 19) Language as a contractual and specific structure for communication and message transmission (Tradgil, 1997) has several important parts, of which dialect is one of the main ones. Dialect is a branch of language that includes different pronunciations and types of expression in grammatical and lexical contexts according to various social and cultural factors (Modarressi and Esmaeili Zare, 2013).

In this study, which focuses on the Talshi language, it is possible to present a threefold division of the dialect of this language: Northern Taleshi, which includes the vicinity of Astara and the border line of Azerbaijan and has been influenced by the Turkish language. Southern Taleshi, which includes Masal, Shanderman, Soomehsara, Foman and other mountainous areas of Gilan, which has been influenced by the Gilaki language, and Central Talshi, which includes Hashtpar, Razvanshahr, Pere Sar, and around Islam, and more than the other two groups, It has kept its original features (Abdoli, 2010). In this research, to operationalize this variable, a three-choice question was used to identify the dialect type of people.

The place where the person was raised: this variable refers to the place where the person spent the most and most important years of his life. In fact, being an urban or

rural person forms the main two classes of this variable. For example, a rural person may have come to the city to work, but spent his childhood and adolescence in the village, so he is considered a villager, or vice versa, an urban person may be considered a villager because of his job in the village. be, but it is considered as a city.

Education: Education refers to the number of years a person has spent studying. In this research, in addition to the respondent's own education, the education of his parents was also asked. To operationalize this variable, the respondent is asked to specify the number of years he has been studying. For example, someone who has a diploma marks the number 12 and someone who has a master's degree marks the number 16. Operationalizing this variable in the way it was said, in addition to creating a distance variable, it can further categorize and transform it into a qualitative (ordinal) variable, which will be useful in conducting further tests.

Age: It means the number of years that have passed in a person's life. This variable has been operationalized as an interval; So that the respondent mentioned the number of years of his life in the questionnaire.

Research Methods:

A survey method was used in this research. The statistical population of the study includes all the residents of the mainly rural areas of Gilan province who are over 15 years old at the time of the study. Most of the Talesh people living in Iran live in Gilan province and part of East Azerbaijan

province. According to the available statistics, about 500,000 of the population of 2,530,000 people in Gilan province are Taleshi. According to Cochran's formula, the final sample size was determined by adding 10% to it in order to solve the problems caused by non-response or incomplete response to the questionnaire, the number of 480 samples.

However, after collecting the data and removing inappropriate questionnaires, the final sample size that was analyzed was 430 people. The sampling method in this research is a multi-stage cluster. In this way, first, in each city, several urban and rural areas were randomly selected as sampling clusters. Then, in each of these clusters, a number of blocks (neighborhoods) are determined randomly and the samples from within these blocks are randomly selected.

The first cluster: includes the cities of Rizvan Shahr, Masal, Somesara and Foman due to the concentration of Shiite Talesh population and the presence of different ethnic groups.

The second cluster: includes Dawalesh city (Hashtpar, Islam) due to the concentration of the elderly population in this city

The third cluster: Astara city (Astara, Lundil) due to its proximity to the Republic of Azerbaijan and the efforts of residents in this country.

Then, two cities were randomly selected from each cluster for data collection, which includes the following cities. The table below shows how the sample size is distributed in three clusters and selected cities.

Table 2:
sample size in the three clusters and selected cities

Row	Sample Size	Selected Cities	Cluster
1	150	Masal- Soomehsara	Rezvanshahr, Masal, Soomehsara, Fooman counties
2	150	Hashtpar-Asalem	Tavalesh County
3	150	Astara-Lundil	Astara County

In this study, a researcher-made questionnaire was used to collect information about independent and dependent variables. The dependent variables of the research were political ethnocentrism and the independent variables of the research included religion, dialect, place of residence, age and education, which are explained in the following for each of these variables.

Research Findings

Descriptive findings show that 61.9% of the respondents are men and 38.1% of them are women. The age status of the respondents shows that 31.4% of the respondents of this research are people under 30 years of age, i.e. young people, and 52.6% of them are adults (31 to 50 years old) and 16% of them are middle-aged people (over 50). 27.7% of the respondents speak the

Northern Taleshi dialect. while 38.3% of them speak with the Central Taleshi dialect and 34% with the Southern Taleshi dialect; The respondents' education shows that 13.5% of them are undergraduates.

While 37.7% have diploma and postgraduate education, 31.9% of them have bachelor's education and 17% have postgraduate and doctorate education; 57.7% of respondents are Shia and 42.3% of them are Sunni; Therefore, the frequency of Shia respondents is higher than Sunni respondents. 60% of the respondents live in the city and 40% live in the village; Examining the state of

political ethnocentrism also shows that none of the respondents have low political ethnocentrism. While 54 people (12.6%) at the middle level and 376 people (87.4%) at the high level have political ethnocentrism. In general, the political ethnocentrism of the mentioned respondents is at a high level.

In the analytical part, considering that the variables of religion, education, age, place of upbringing, and dialect are at the distance and ordinal level, to check the hypotheses and confirm or reject the existence of the relationship between these variables and political ethnocentrism, using chi-square tests (Table 2) is used.

Table 2:

Test of the relational hypothesis between independent variables and political ethnicity

Kendall TB test			Political ethnocentrism			Type of dialect
Value	Significance level of chi-square	Total	Top	medium	Down	
253/0	100		84	16	0	Northern Taleshi
	100					
	100		8/95	2/4	0	Central Taleshi
	100		8/80	2/19	0	Southern Taleshi
			4/87	6/12	0	Total
V-Kramers test			Political ethnocentrism			Type of religion
Value	Significance level of chi-square	Total	Top	medium	Down	
183/0	000/0	100	3/82	7/17	0	Shia
		100	4/94	5/5	0	Sunni
		100	4/87	6/12	0	Total
			Political ethnocentrism			Education
Value		Total	Top	Medium	Down	
053/0	TC Kendall test	100	4/91	6/8	0	High school
	392 /0	100	87	13	0	Diploma and post-diploma
		100	1/89	9/10	0	Bachelor
		100	2/82	8/17		Masters and PhD
		100	4/87	6/12	0	Total
Kendall TB test			Political ethnocentrism			Age status

Value	Significance level of chi-square		Top	Medium	Down	
032/0	652/0	100	4/87	6/12	0	Young
		100	2/87	8/12	0	Adult
		100	4/88	6/11	0	Middle-aged
		100	4/87	6/12	0	Total
V-Kramers test						
Value	level of chi-square	Total	Political ethnocentrism			Breeding place
053/0	285/0	100	86	14	0	City
		100	5/89	5/10	0	Village
		100	4/87	6/12	0	Total

Hypothesis 1: There is a relationship between the type of dialect and political ethnocentrism of the people of Gilan province.

The results show the relationship between the type of dialect and the degree of political ethnicity of the respondents. The significance level of chi-square test is equal to / 000 and less than 0.05, which confirms the first hypothesis at 99% confidence level. In fact, there is a significant relationship between the type of dialect and the degree of political ethnicity of the respondents. To evaluate the quality of the relationship, which includes intensity and direction, an appropriate complementary test has been used.

the variable of dialect type is at the level of nominal measurement and the variable of political ethnicity is at the level of sequential measurement, Tai Kendall test will be the most appropriate follow-up test. Based on the test, which is equal to 0.253, there is a significant relationship between the two variables at a weak level. The direction of the relationship is also not interpretable due to the spherical nature of the relationship. A review of descriptive findings also shows that all respondents are in the middle and high level of political ethnicity. At the moderate level of political ethnocentrism, people with a southern Talesh dialect are 19.2% higher than

others, but at a high level of political ethnocentrism, people with a central Talesh dialect are 95.8% higher than others; Therefore, the first hypothesis of the research is confirmed and its results show that people who speak the central Talesh dialect have a higher political ethnicity.

Hypothesis 2: There is a relationship between the type of religion and the degree of political ethnicity of the people of Gilan province.

The results show the relationship between the type of religion and the degree of political ethnicity of the respondents. The significance level of chi-square test is equal to / 000 and less than 0.05, which confirms the second hypothesis at 99% confidence level. In fact, there is a significant relationship between the type of religion and the degree of political ethnicity of the respondents. To evaluate the quality of the relationship, which includes intensity and direction, an appropriate complementary test has been used. Since the variable of type of religion is at the level of nominal measurement and the variable of political ethnicity is at the level of sequential measurement, the We-Creamer's test will be the most appropriate post hoc test. Based on the test, which is equal to 0.183, there is a significant relationship between the two variables at a weak level. The direction of the

relationship is also not interpretable due to the spherical nature of the relationship. A review of descriptive findings also shows that all respondents are in the middle and high level of political ethnicity. At the average level of political ethnicity, people with Shiite religion are 17.1% higher than people with Sunni religion, but at the highest level of political ethnicity, people with Sunni religion are 94.4% higher than people with Shiite religion; Therefore, the second hypothesis of the research is confirmed and its results show that people with Sunni religion have a higher political ethnicity.

Hypothesis 3: There is a relationship between the level of education and the level of political ethnicity of the struggling people of Gilan province.

The results show that there is no relationship between education and the degree of political ethnicity of the respondents. The significance level of chi-square test is equal to / 392 and more than 0.05, which at the level of 99% confidence, rejects the first hypothesis. In fact, there is no significant relationship between education and the degree of political ethnicity of the respondents. As a result, it is not possible to assess the quality of the relationship, which includes intensity and direction. A review of descriptive findings also shows that all respondents are in the middle and high level of political ethnicity. At the average level of political ethnocentrism, people with master's and doctoral degrees are 17.8 percent higher than others, but at the highest level of political ethnocentrism, people with undergraduate education are 91.4 percent, slightly higher than others; Therefore, the third hypothesis of the research is rejected and its results show that there is no significant relationship between individuals' education and political ethnicity.

Hypothesis 4: There is a relationship between age and the degree of political ethnicity of the people of Gilan province.

The results show that there is no relationship between age and the degree of political ethnicity of the respondents. The significance level of the chi-square test is equal to / 652 and more than 0.05, which at the 99% confidence level, rejects the fourth hypothesis. In fact, there is no significant relationship between the age and the degree of political ethnicity of the respondents. As a result, it is not possible to assess the quality of the relationship, which includes intensity and direction. A review of descriptive findings also shows that all respondents are in the middle and high level of political ethnicity. At the moderate level of political ethnocentrism, adults are 12.8% slightly higher than others, but at the upper level of political ethnocentrism, middle-aged people are 88.4% higher than others; Therefore, the fourth hypothesis of the research is rejected and its results show that there is no significant relationship between age and political ethnicity.

Hypothesis 5: There is a relationship between the place of upbringing and the degree of political ethnocentrism of the people of Gilan province.

The results show that there is no relationship between the place of upbringing and the degree of political ethnicity of the respondents. The significance level of the chi-square test is equal to / 285 and more than 0.05, which at the 99% confidence level, rejects the fifth hypothesis. In fact, there is no significant relationship between the place of upbringing and the degree of political ethnicity of the respondents. As a result, it is not possible to assess the quality of the relationship, which includes intensity and direction. A review of descriptive findings also shows that all

respondents are in the middle and high level of political ethnicity. At the moderate level of political ethnocentrism, urban people are 14% higher than rural residents, but at the highest level of political ethnocentrism, rural people are 89.5% higher than urban dwellers; Therefore, the fifth hypothesis of the research is rejected and its results show, there is no significant relationship between the place of upbringing of individuals and political ethnicity.

Conclusion

This research investigated the state of political ethnocentrism among Talesh people and evaluated the role of eternal variables in its formation. The results of the research showed that the level of political ethnocentrism among the Talesh is very high (87 percent) and this figure is much higher compared to other Iranian ethnic groups on which field research has been conducted (political ethnocentrism among the Kurds).

The findings about the roots and causes and factors of the formation of political ethnocentrism show that some eternal factors such as dialect and religion play a role in the political ethnocentrism of Gilan's efforts, but the variable of the place of birth and upbringing of a person, which is an eternal variable, is next to two non-eternal variables. That is, age and education do not affect their political ethnocentrism. Therefore, the findings of this research confirm the effect of some eternal variables in the formation of ethnocentrism, but this issue cannot be generalized to all eternal variables.

Also, the results of this research show that the level of political ethnocentrism among Talesh residents who speak the Central Taleshi dialect is higher than those who speak the Northern Taleshi and Southern Taleshi dialects. The remarkable thing about

the findings of this section is that dialect diversity has had an impact on political ethnocentrism. According to the findings of the research, Talesh residents with Northern and Southern Talesh dialects have less ethnocentrism due to their connection with other languages. Talesh villages with Northern Taleshi dialect are adjacent to Turkic provinces such as Ardabil, and Talesh villages with Southern Taleshi dialect are adjacent to the central cities of Gilan province and Gilaki language. These linguistic relations between the two northern and southern parts have had an inverse role in the level of political ethnocentrism, but the Talshis with the central Taleshi dialect, which have been less affected by such linguistic relations, have had a higher level of political ethnocentrism.

In addition, the results of the research showed that there is a relationship between the type of religion and the level of political ethnocentrism. The findings show that the level of political ethnocentrism among Shia efforts is lower than Sunni efforts. In other words, the political ethnocentrism of people with Sunni religion is at a higher level than people with Shia religion. This issue suggests that Sunnis may be more willing to participate in nationalist movements. While the Shiite efforts are less willing to participate in ethnic activities for reasons such as proximity and association with the central power.

In addition, the findings of this research show that there is no significant relationship between a person's place of upbringing, age and level of education with the level of political ethnocentrism. The developments that have occurred in the society have reduced the distance between the city and the countryside compared to the past, and today the villagers benefit from most of the facilities available in the cities. The absence of a relationship between age and education and the level of po-

litical ethnocentrism also shows that despite the difference in the level of age and education among the respondents, the level of political ethnocentrism is high among them and these two variables have not been able to play a role in explaining the level of political ethnocentrism.

Therefore, it can be concluded that ethnocentrism, as a multidimensional phenomenon, has been influenced by ancient and old factors, and among these old factors, religion has played a stronger role than language and dialect. In general, the level of political ethnocentrism among Sunni efforts is higher than among Shia efforts.

The final point is that the multiplicity of ethnic and religious groups is a potential source of weakening national harmony and cohesion and a threat to national security in countries with cultural diversity and pluralism, but if a political system does not have specific and codified ethnic policies regarding its ethnic and religious groups. In order to curb this potential threat and turn it into an opportunity, there will be a possibility of intensifying identity conflicts and activation of ethnic divisions and weakening national security. In Iran, like other multicultural societies, the activation of ethnic divisions can be the basis for the emergence of conflict, instability and political violence. The findings of this research, which confirm the high level of political ethnocentrism among Iran's efforts, as well as confirm the existence of a meaningful relationship between the two variables of religion and dialect and political ethnocentrism, should draw the attention of the country's stakeholders to the fact that the background and possibility of active There is an ethnic and religious divide in this region of Iran, and macro policies and local planning, especially in the cultural field, require more precision in terms of dimensions, taking into

account the three elements of religion, ethnicity, and language. The following suggestions and solutions are suggested:

In this research, a researcher-made questionnaire was used to collect information about independent and dependent variables. In this research, face validity has been used to determine the validity of the measurement tool. For this purpose, after the initial formulation of the questionnaire, we provided it to 10 experts and researchers in the field of ethnicity and ethnocentrism to express their opinions. After reviewing the opinions and making corrections, the final questionnaire was compiled. Also, Cronbach's alpha coefficient was used to measure the reliability of the research tool. The number of 50 people completed the questionnaire as samples of the preliminary study and the results of the reliability test show that the variables have a suitable coefficient (above 0.7) and their reliability has been confirmed.

1. Managing social gaps and laying the groundwork for turning concentrated gaps into intersecting gaps by using the policies of programs aimed at realizing social justice in all political, economic and cultural dimensions.
2. Taking advantage of the diplomatic capacities of the country to reduce the pressure and propaganda attack aimed at strengthening political ethnocentrism among the Iranians from the opposition media in neighboring countries, especially the Republic of Azerbaijan.
3. Including a meeting with the people in Talesh region in the possible travel plan of the leader or the president to Gilan province
4. Laying the groundwork for increasing the participation of qualified elites in

- management positions at the local, provincial and national levels.
5. Identifying the scientific, cultural and political elites in the center and introducing them as successful models and symbols of national solidarity in Iran
 6. Strengthening civil organizations among the efforts as a connecting factor of national and local networks to identify, collect and transfer demands to the center and also to adjust them in order to reduce divergence.
 7. Setting the stage for more intellectual and political elites to participate in civic and political formations at the national level.
 8. Identifying and dealing with factors promoting or inciting political ethnocentrism and creating ethnic crises in the region
 9. Holding a ceremony to honor the famous people of Talshan region, especially the famous Sunni people of the region
 10. Development and promotion of components aimed at Islamic unity between Shiites and Sunnis in Taleshneshin areas.
 11. Planning by security institutions to prevent the formation of religious sects and extremist groups; Because the formation of these groups will lead to the support and stimulation of external factors
 12. Education and culture building in order to introduce Wahhabi influence groups and Takfiri Salafists of ISIS and... as terrorist groups in the region
 13. Avoidance of system officials at the national and provincial level from comments and actions that can create the suspicion of demarcation between Shiites and Sunnis, and those who try and do not try to do so in the region and provide necessary propaganda fodder to foreigners.
 14. Setting the groundwork for increasing intellectual and cultural interaction between Shia and Sunni Islamic scholars and thinkers of Talesh region.
 15. Preventing extreme actions in holding religious ceremonies and countering the promotion of divisive symbols and provocative words in mosques and religious places.

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