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Introduction


2. “The government belongs to those who know Islamic jurisprudence, the rule of the supreme jurist or the top theologian”; E. Sanasarian, *Religious Minorities in Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), xix.


Chapter 1


2. Ibid., 194.


4. Ibid., 132.


16. Ibid.
18. Ibid., 25.
19. Ibid., 24.
20. Ibid., 17.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid., 23.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid., 23.
38. Aslan, “Citizen, Speak Turkish!” 247.
40. Ibid., 190.
41. Ibid., 23.
42. Buzan, *People, States and Fear*, 75.
43. Ibid., 76–77.
44. Ibid., 92.
56. Ibid., 31.
57. Ibid., 28.
60. S. D. Watson, “Agents in Search of an Actor: Societal Security for the Palestinians and Turkish Kurds,” *All Academia*, University of British Columbia, accessed April 10, 2013, http://www.ligi.ubc.ca/sites/liu/files/Publications/Watson_ISA.pdf. Referent objects refer to things such as the following: individuals, social/societal groups, states, or regions that are perceived to be, in Buzan’s words, “existentially threatened and that have a legitimate claim to survival”; B. Buzan, “Rethinking Security,” 36.
65. Ibid., 39.
66. Ibid., 60.
67. Ibid., 87.
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74. Ibid., 13.
75. Ibid.
78. Ibid., 54.
86. Ibid., 577.

Chapter 2

10. Walipour, Goftemanhaye Amniate Melli, 44–45.
24. Iran. Const. art. CXV.
34. Ollapally, “Foreign Policy and Identity Politics,” 15.
38. For clarification, in this study, *Persian* refers to the Persian ethnic group, while *Iranian* refers to all Iranian nationals of all ethnicities.
58. Jalal-din Farsi, a longtime disciple of Khomeini, was prevented from standing in the presidential election of 1980 because of his Afghani origin; E. Abrahamian,
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60. Abrahamian, A History of Modern Iran, 188.
61. Nader Naderpouri (1929–2000) was an Iranian poet and thinker and was nominated for the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1993.
71. Ibid., 22.
74. Ibid., 9.
75. Walipour, Gostiemanhaye Amniate Melli, 380.
76. Ibid., 394.
77. A. Eftekhar, Dar Amadi Bar Khotote Ghermez Dar reghabathaye Siasi (Tehran: Centre of Strategic Studies, 2003), 63.
78. Walipour, Gostiemanhaye Amniate Melli, 519.
80. Ibid.
81. The Second of Khordad Movement, the Iranian reform movement that refers to the date of Khatami’s landslide election victory in the Iranian Calendar, was a political movement by a group of political parties and organizations in Iran who supported Mohammad Khatami’s plans to change the system to include more democratic aspects.
82. M. Khatami, Pishrafthaye Siasi, Pishrafthaye Eghtesadi wa Amniat (Tehran: Tarhe Noo, 2001), 128.
83. Ibid., 129.
84. Ibid., 143.
85. Ibid., 53.
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93. The Arab member of the Iranian cabinet was Iran’s defense minister, Admiral Ali Shamkhani.
110. “The Khatami era has been judged profoundly positively in terms of transformation of Iran’s international image and opportunities”; Maloney, “Identity and Change,” 114.
114. Buzan, *People, States and Fear*, 82.
Notes • 195

115. “President’s Speech in the Parliament.”

Chapter 3

32. Ibid., 1.
42. Ibid., 135.
50. Ibid., 7.


65. The Greater and Lesser Tunbs and the Abu Musa Islands are islands on the eastern side of the Persian Gulf. These islands are claimed by both Iran and the United Arab Emirates. Iran controls the islands and has been administering them as part of the province Hormozgan since 1971.


68. Karbala is an Iraqi city where the shrine of the third Shi’a Imam, Husain, is located.


76. Sariolghalam, “Understanding Iran,” 69.


82. Cole, “Marking Boundaries.”

**Chapter 4**


11. Ibid., 124. The Tudeh Party (founded in 1941) is an Iranian communist party. Its full name in Persian is *Hezb-e Tudeh-ye Iran*, which literally means “Party of the Masses of Iran.”


21. Intrigues among the Bakhtiari Tribes, Foreign Service Dispatch 414, 788.521/28, November 1952, Box 4109, Record Group-59, National Archives, Washington, DC; Foreign Service Dispatch, 738, 788.00, March 10, 1953
26. Zabih, Iran since the Revolution, 84.
40. E. Hobsbawm, Nation and Nationalism since 1780; Programme, Myth, Reality (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 102.
41. N. Nasibzade, “The Azeri Question in Iran.”
42. Mahmud Ali Chehregani was an Azeri candidate for the Parliament from Tabriz in 1996. Chehregani demanded implementation of Article 15 of the constitution. He was arrested and disqualified from his candidacy. Azeris in Tabriz demonstrated against this decision.
44. Shaffer, *Iran and the Challenge*, 142.
59. UK Home Office Immigration and Nationality Directorate (IND CIPU), Country Information and Policy Unit, Country Report Iran, April 2005, s. 6. 121.
61. The four Kurdish opposition leaders were assassinated at the Mykonos restaurant in Berlin, Germany.
68. The resignations were later withdrawn.
71. Halliday, Iran, 227.
73. Maghsodi, Tahavolate Quomi, 355.
76. The group called itself Democratic Revolutionary Movement for the Liberation of Arabistan.
77. Ansari, Modern Iran, 231.
80. Several times, Abtahi denied writing the letter.
86. Halliday, Iran, 228.
91. Ibid.


103. Abrahamian, *Iran between Two Revolutions*, 120.


118. N. Nasibzade, “The Azeri Question in Iran.” For the first point, see also Shaffer, *Iran and the Challenge*, 185.
119. Ali Akbar Velayati was the foreign minister from 1981 to 1997.
127. Ibid.
143. Abrahamian, *Iran between Two Revolutions*, 527.
145. Rafsanjani’s interviews with George A. Nader, editor of *Middle East Insight*, were reproduced in “From Tehran to Waco,” *Washington Post*, July 9, 1995.

**Chapter 5**

11. Ibid., 60.
27. Ibid., 7.
28. Ibid., 13.
29. Ibid., 10.
30. Ibid., 18.
45. Abrahaimian, *Iran between Two Revolutions*, 532.
52. A. Ansari, *Modern Iran since 1921* (London: Pearson Education, 2003), 64.
57. “Iran: Discontent and Disarray,” 2.
60. Dorraj and Dodson, “Neo-Populism in Comparative Perspective,” 142.
69. Such officials include Minister Sadegh Mahsouli; General Amir Hayat Moghadam, the governor of Khuzestan Provence; and Mohammad Reza Faleh Zadeh Abarghoyi, the governor of Yazd Provence.
73. Abrahiamian, *Iran between Two Revolutions*, 537.
81. Ibid., 184–85.
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86. Ibid., 132.
91. Ibid., 129–36.
96. Ibid., 182.


111. Ibid., 4.

112. Ibid., 6–7


119. Ibid., 163.

120. Ibid., 165.

121. Dorraj and Dodson, “Neo-Populism in Comparative Perspective,” 144.


Chapter 6


2. Ibid., 9.


18. Shadegan is a city located in the Khuzestan province with an over 95 percent Arab population.


54. Ibid., 150.
63. Ibid., 573–75.
64. Romano, “Modern Communications,” 128.
71. Romano, “Modern Communications,” 134.
76. Unrest in the ethnic Azeri community erupted in May 2006 when a state-run newspaper, Iran, published a cartoon with an article the Azeris believed depicted them as cockroaches.
78. Romano, “Modern Communications,” 128.
79. Ibid., 137.
96. Ibid., 27.
106. Esman, An Introduction to Ethnic Conflicts, 128.
107. Ibid., 179.
111. Ibid., 98.
116. Ibid., 136.
134. Hutchinson and Smith, *Ethnicity*, 118.
146. Romano, “Modern Communications,” 145.
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11. Ibid.
28. Ibid., 2.
29. Ibid., 12.
32. Ibid., 192.
35. Ibid., 383.
46. Ibid., 53–54.
47. Ibid., xii.
49. Quoted in Brown et al., *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflicts*, 128.
64. Gurr, <i>Why Men Rebel</i>, 12.
65. S. Fenton, <i>Ethnicity</i> (Cambridge: Polity, 2003), 52.
67. Esman, <i>An Introduction to Ethnic Conflicts</i>, 41.
68. Stavenhagen, <i>Ethnic Conflicts</i>, 3.
69. Esman, <i>Ethnic Politics</i>, 2.
70. Ibid., 27.
75. Stavenhagen, <i>Ethnic Conflicts</i>, 100.
76. Wæver, Buzan, Kelstrup, and Lemaitre, eds., <i>Identity</i>, 23.
80. Maghsodi, <i>Tahavolate Quomi</i>, 420–21.
85. Samii, “Ethnic Tension.”
90. This interview was conducted on August 30, 2009. Abdulmalek Rigi, however, was arrested by the Iranian security forces on February 23, 2010. Two days later, in the confession, Rigi stated that he had ties to the United States and that he had been supported by the CIA. “Iran Arrests Leader of Sunni Militants Jundullah,” *BBC News*, accessed April 10, 2013, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/8529625.stm.
95. Kaviani Rad, “Political Regionalism in Iran, The Case of Iranian Baluchestan,” 144.
100. Ibid., 274.
102. Ibid., 178.
137. Ibid., 383.
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156. R. Izadi and H. Ahmadi, eds., *Iran, Identity, Nationality, Ethnicity* (Tehran: Research and Human Science Development Institute, 2005), 412.

Conclusion


Index

Abdol-Aziz, Molavi, 73
Abrahamian, Ervand, 35, 40, 61, 85, 93
Abtahi, Mohammad Ali, 71
Abu Musa Islands, 55
Ahmadinejad, Mahmoud, 6
accusations against “foreign enemies,” 100
in Ardabil governorship, 113
election of, 42
increased repression by, 169
minority rights and, 93
and revival of fundamental revolutionary ideas, 26
and revival of Islamic civilization, 43
Revolutionary Guard and, 101
Ahwaz Human Rights Organization, 99
Albright, Madeleine, 159
Alikhah, Fardin, 116, 118–19
Aljazeera News network, Iranian closure of, 140
Alzahi, Abdolhamid, 123
Amini, Ebrahim, 90
Amirahmadi, Hooshang, 138, 143, 158
Amnesty International, report on discriminatory practices, 64
amniate nezam, 34
Amuzegar, Jamshid, 54
Anderson, Benedict, 13, 46, 49, 50
Ansari, Ali, 71, 90
Arab minority, 3, 55
background on, 70–72
cross-border connections of, 59
demands of, 79, 96
discrimination against, 99, 114, 117–18
increased ethnic awareness of, 118
intermarriage and, 127–28
Iranian Embassy takeover and, 71
literacy rates of, 97
persecution of, 70–71
Persian hostility to, 127
population of, 59, 70
poverty of, 81, 98, 112, 134–35, 144
resistance of, 71–72
stereotype of, 127
unemployment rate of, 98
See also Khuzestan
Arab Political Cultural Organization, 71
Armenia
Iran’s relations with, 78, 81
Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and, 81
Aryanism, national identity construction and, 53
assimilationist policies, 65, 92, 142–44
ethnic relocation and, 143
interviewee statements about, 128–30
promotion of, 63
resistance to, 10, 126, 146–47, 165
See also language restrictions
Azerbaijan, Republic of. See Republic of Azerbaijan
Azeri autonomy, Soviet support of, 76
Azeri language, banning of, 66. See also language restrictions
Azeri minority, 3
Article 15 and, 66
background on, 66–67
Azeri minority (continued)
  communications technology and, 119–20
  cross-border connections of, 59
  demands of, 95
  discrimination against, 114
  grievances of, 120
  increased ethnic awareness of, 118
  influence of, 83
  language restrictions and, 67
  numbers of, 30, 59, 66
  protests by, 78–79
  secession potential of, 157
  stereotype of, 127
  student activism and, 151
Azeri separatist movement, Pahlavi
  suppression of, 62

Baha'is, repression of, 60
Bakhtiari movement, Reza Shah and, 62
Baluchi minority, 3
  background of, 72–74
  cross-border linkages of, 59, 153
  educational opportunities and, 97–98
  grievances of, 94, 123
  insurgency of, 141
  interviews with, 122–25
Islamic Revolution and, 63
  numbers of, 59
  in Pakistan, 153
  potential secession by, 95
  poverty of, 72, 74
  stereotype of, 127
Sunni Islam and, 3
  suppression of, 72
  threat from, 79–80
  unemployment rate of, 98
  uprisings and separatist campaigns of, 72–73
Baluchi separatist movements
  leftist/secular support of, 63
  Pahlavi suppression of, 62
Baluchistan
  criminal networks in, 73–74
  government security concerns and, 157
Pakistan’s policies in, 12
  violence in, 94
Baubock, Rainer, 155–56
Bazargan, Mehdi, 32
Bilgin, Pinar, 11
Bogert, Carroll, 82
Boroujerdi, Mehrzad, 53
Bradley, John, 93, 96
British Ahwazi Friendship Society, 97, 98
Brown, Michael, 16, 20, 141, 145, 155, 157
Buzan, Barry, 9, 10–15, 41, 45, 85, 87, 93, 124, 128, 141
  on ethnic conflict, 9–10
  on mobilization of identities, 15
  on multinational state, 14
  societal identity and, 33
censorship, state, 139–40. See also repression
Central Intelligence Agency (CIA),
  Musaddiq coup and, 159–60
Chehregani, Mahmud Ali, 66
Chipman, John, 76
Christians
  percentage of population, 29
  repression of, 60
Chubin, Shahram, 40, 87–88, 90
citizenship, defined, 2
civic nationalism, 48
civil society/civil rights
  Khatami and, 38–40
  strengthening of, 2
clandestine activities, 150–51
clerical rulers
  increased unpopularity of, 87–89
  See also Islamic Republic; Khamenei, Ali; Khomeini, Ruhollah
Clinton, Bill, 159
Cohn, Hans, 47
Cold War, end of, 36–37, 156
Cole, Juan, 52
communication technology
  impacts of, 116–21, 137, 165, 168–69
  interviewee statements about, 118–21
See also Internet access; satellite television
consociation model, 143
Constitutional Revolution of 1905, 52
Constitutional Revolution of 1906, nationalism and, 46
Cottam, Richard, 29, 49, 87, 95
decision making, exclusion from, 98–100
De Luce, Dan, 140
democracy
demand for, 2, 92, 131
foreign intervention and, 159–60
lack of, 102
spread of, 126
demographic diversity, 61
De Vos, George A., 132, 150
Dbimi, Larry, 63
discriminatory policies, 22
interviewee statements about, 110–15
See also assimilationist policies; relative deprivation
economic conditions, 1980s policies and, 37
economic sanctions, 159
education
in Arab regions, 115
in ethnic languages, 128–29
interviewee statements about, 116
minority access to, 97
Ehteshami, Anoushiravan, 37, 54, 79, 159
Elchibey, Abulfex, 76
employment/unemployment
impacts of, 102
interviewee statements about, 110–13
lack of, 111
Persian versus ethnic minority, 98
See also poverty
Esman, Milton, 48, 109–10, 117, 125, 137–38, 142, 145, 149, 156
ethnic cleansing, 15
ethnic conflict/violence, 9–23, 59–84, 93–94
in Baluchi region, 141
causes of, 113
definitions of, 20, 169
deprivation and, 109
discriminative policies and, 21
external factors in, 75–82, 81–82
factors leading to, 20–21, 85–86, 93–94, 125–26, 141–42
increased, 102, 166
internalization of, 21
justifications of, 21
Pahlavi era and, 62
provinces experiencing, 94–95
solutions for, 141
See also relative deprivation
ethnic diversity, in early twentieth century, 61
ethnic identity
awareness of, 109, 117–18
construction of, 109
interviewee statements about, 117–21, 132–33
perceived threat of, 29
preservation of, after Islamic Revolution, 61
strengthening of, 83
ethnicity
definitions of, 20
versus nationhood, 149–50
rejection of, 6
ethnicity-based political parties, state ban of, 140–41
ethnic minorities
absence of leadership for, 144
Ahmadinejad and, 42
cross-border linkages of, 2–3, 59, 66, 76, 92, 133, 151, 153–55
demands of, 134
discontentment of, 7 (see also minority discontent)
discrimination against, 21 (see assimilationist policies; repression)
education access by, 97
external factors affecting, 81, 100, 151–59
ethnic minorities (continued)
geographical concentrations of, 91–92
grievances of, 92–93, 109
impacts on neighboring countries, 155
increased demands of, 136
Khatami and, 39–40
lack of international support for, 152
and mobilization against state, 18–19
as nations, 150
non-Persian, 2–3
as obstacle to national identity, 28
participation in Islamic Revolution, 62–63
percentage of Iranian population, 59
political decision-making process and, 98–100
potential for secession by, 87
during Rafsanjani/Khatami eras, 7–38
regional geopolitical changes and, 96–97
relocation of, 143
role in ethnonationalism, 52
state neglect of, 1
symptoms of relative deprivation among, 4
threat posed by, 59–60, 164 (see also separatist option)
unfulfilled expectations of, 146–47
See also Arab minority; Azeri minority;
Baluchi minority; ethnoreligious minorities; Kurd minority;
Turkmen minority
ethnic separatism. See separatist option
ethnonationalism
concerns about, 76–77
definitions of, 48
emergence in Iran, 52
religious affinity with, 11
ethnoreligious minorities
assimilationist policies and, 121
global and regional developments and, 92
increased identity awareness of, 122
national security and, 25, 60, 83
political mobilization of, 2
rights violations of, 112
umma and, 29
See also ethnic minorities; and specific minorities
Evera, Stephen, 47, 125
expansionism, umma and, 26–33
Farsi, Jalalol-din, 35
federal system, 93, 169
argument for, 160
defined, 14
versus imperial state, 14
option of, 133, 147
Fenton, Steve, 48, 126, 149
Ferdowsi, Abul-Qāsim, 54
foreign policy
actors in, 81
with Azerbaijan, 77–78
domestic security challenges and, 3
ethnic minority impacts on, 164
ideological versus realpolitik approach to, 81
intraethnic tensions related to, 75–82
Islamic principles and, 81
foreign powers
Ahmadinejad and, 100
democracy and, 159–60
ethnic conflicts and, 21
separatist option and, 100
Furman, Uriah, 29
Ganjavi, Nezami, 54
Gellner, Ernest, 47
Ghasemi, Mohammad Ali, 119, 131
Giles, Gregory F., 57
globalization
impacts of, 41, 165
separatism and, 117
threat to Iran, 10
Graham, Robert, 54
Gulbuddin Hekmatyar Party, 80
Gurr, Ted, 17–19, 21, 38, 85–89, 92, 94, 101, 109, 137–38, 149. See also relative deprivation; Relative Deprivation Theory
Hafez, Mohammed, 116, 137, 139
Halliday, Fred, 72
Hambly, Gavin R. G., 59
Harrison, Selig S., 125
Hashemi, Mirghasim Bani, 118
Hashim, Ahmed, 36, 38, 86, 87–88, 92, 152
Haynes, Jeff, 125, 156
Hen-Tov, Elliot, 101
Hobsbawm, Eric, 66
Horowitz, Donald L., 123, 127, 154
human rights violations
Amnesty International report on, 64
See also repression
Human Rights Watch
on Arab persecution, 70–72
on Azeri and Kurd repression, 67
on Baluchistan, 73
Hume, David, 50
Hussein, Saddam, 138
fall of, 71
Khuzestan Arabs and, 55
identity(ies)
as basis of society, 10
collective, 20
conflicts of, 15
construction of, 13
cultural versus national, 2
definitions of, 21
ethnic versus national, 99
individual-collective transition of, 49
mobilization of, 15
overarching, 9–10
pan-Islamist concept of, 28–29, 31
scholarly approaches to, 20
societal security and, 2
threats to, 10, 12, 85
See also ethnic identity; ethnoreligious minorities; national identity;
Persian identity
identity politics
basis for, 49–50
and emergence of ethnonational states, 77
ideological states, examples of, 14

Imagined Communities (Anderson), 13, 49. See also Anderson, Benedict
imperial state versus federative state, 14
infant mortality in ethnic provinces, 98
intermarriage, rejection of, 127–28
International Crisis Group, study of, 90–91
Internet access
empowerment through, 92
impacts of, 89, 110, 160, 168–69
state control of, 140
See also communication technology; satellite television
interviewee responses
re assimilationist policies, 128–30
re communications technology and ethnic identity, 118–21
re discriminative state policies, 110–15
re education, 116
re employment issues/political power, 110–13
re ethnic cultural resistance, 130–31
re ethnic identity awareness, 117–18
re ethnic self-identification, 132–33
re national identity crisis, 125–33
re Persianization, 115–16
re poverty in ethnic regions, 113–15
re relative deprivation/societal insecurity, 109–10
re stereotyping, 126–28
interviewees
classification and characteristics of, 4–5
profiles of, 106–8
interviews, 105–36
conclusions drawn from, 134–36
individual/focus group, 4
locations of, 5
Iran
as artificial national entity, 154
border security challenges to, 54 (see also ethnic minorities: cross-border linkages of)
chemical/nuclear weapon capabilities of, 157
and fear of external interference, 61
Iran (continued)
   as imagined nation, 46, 50
   Iraqi invasion of, 54 (see also Iran-Iraq War)
   Iraq's relationship with, 154
   Muslim–non-Muslim division in, 28
   non-Muslim partners of, 81
   nuclear ambitions of, 3
   population under age 25, 40
   power struggles after Khomeini's death, 36
   sociopolitical shifts in, 56
   US relations with, 3
See also Islamic Republic

Iranian constitution
   Article 3 of, 81
   Article 12 of, 63
   Article 14 of, 73
   Article 15 of, 63, 65, 66, 80, 115, 123, 131
   Article 19 of, 29, 63
   Article 64 of, 30
   Article 100 of, 100
   Article 115 of, 30, 35
   minority rights in, 63
   principle of nondiscrimination in, 29
   unrealized hopes for, 148

Iranian Embassy, siege of, 71

Iranian national identity, 45–58
   anti-other sentiments and, 56
   construction of, 51
   ethnic resistance to, 52
   influences on, 44
   Iranianness/Islamic dichotomy of, 6, 39, 55, 57, 167
   nationalism-Islamism dichotomy in, 57
   Orientalism and, 46, 52–53, 58
   politicization of, 166
   reconstruction of, 46–55
   sources of, 45

Iranian nationalism, complexity of, 51

Iranian Revolution of 1979, 54

iran-Iraq War, 33–35
   ethnic group suppression during, 79
   and relations with ethnic minorities, 67
   security discourse and, 26

Iraq
   autonomous Kurd region of, 92
   and claims to Iranian lands, 55
   Iran's relationship with, 154
   Kurd minority in, 153, 154

Islam
   as collective source of identity, 31
   as legitimacy device, 87
   and nonrecognition of ethnicity/nationality, 32

Islamic identity
   barriers to, 10
   Iran-Iraq War and, 33–35

Islamic ideology, nationalism and, 166–67

Islamicness, dichotomy with Iranianness, 55–57

Islamic Republic
   coercive strategies of, 139–42 (see also assimilationist policies; repression)
   consociation model of, 143
   control policies of, 152–53
   information and media control by, 139–40
   internal threats to, 37
   methods for marginalizing minorities, 111–12
   phases of, 43
   and promotion of socioeconomic deprivation, 144–45
   and reshaping of Iranian identity, 25
   shifts in governance of, 101
   societal discontent and, 93
   threats to legitimacy of, 87–102
See also Iran

Islamic Revolution of 1979
   anti-Islamic stance preceding, 58
   Arab participation in, 70
   avoidance of nationalist concepts and, 27–28
Azeris and, 66
changes following, 26, 60
ethnic minorities and, 60, 62–63
factors leading to, 85–86
goals and impacts of, 26–27
internationalist nature of, 27–28
Iran’s security discourse after, 6
Islamic identity as focus of, 10
Kurds and, 68
national identity and, 2
and preservation of ethnic identity, 61
Turkmen and, 75
umma concept and, 6
Islamic rule, Khomeini’s concept of, 27
Islamic state, national identity and, 50
Islamic values, hardliner commitment to, 7
Islamism challenges to, 167
dichotomy with nationalism, 46
nationalism and, 25
Israel, Azerbaijan and, 78
Israel-Palestine peace process, 37
Jafari, Mohammad Ali, 157
Jalili, Said, 63
Jamiat-i Islami, 80
Jervis, Robert, 12
Jews, repression of, 60
jihad against “infidel Saddam,” 35
Joireman, Sandra, 47, 149
Jones, Clive, 85, 154, 156
Judah, Tim, 89
Jundallah, 79
Kaldor, Mary, 14–15, 16
Kamrava, Mehran, 126, 152
Karami, Mehran, 42
Kashani-Sabet, Firouzeh, 54
Kasravi, Ahmad, 53
Katzenstein, Peter, 11, 19
Keddie, Nikki, 3, 45, 60, 159
Kedourie, Elie, 15, 48, 49–51
Khaghani, Mohammad Taher, 71
Khalighi, Hossein, 124
Khalilzad, Zalmay, 79
Khamenei, Ali, 160
claims about external enemies, 79
as successor to Khomeini, 35–36
Khatami, Mohammad, 6, 26, 38–42, 86
civil society, civil rights and, 38–40
failed expectations for, 88–89
hardliner opposition and, 40
Kurdistan visit of, 95
policy failures of, 90–91
priorities of, 37, 38, 43
promises of, 64–65, 67
and shift from internationalism to nationalism, 39
Khomeini, Ruhollah
death of, 35, 37, 87
Iranian identity and, 45–46
Kurds and, 68–69
nationalism concept and, 31–32
and pan-Islamist concept of identity, 28–29
postelection promises of, 89–90
umma concept and, 43, 166
velayat-e faqih doctrine of, 26–27
Khuzestan
Arab population of, 55, 70
government security concerns and, 157
literacy rates in, 97
oil resources of, 70, 72, 94, 96, 98, 111–12, 114–15, 134, 144
unemployment in, 98
violence in, 94
Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran, 68
Kurdistan
autonomous region of, 92
government security concerns and, 157
Soviet support of, 139
violence in, 94–95
Kurd minority, 3
background of, 68–70
communications technology and, 119
cross-border connections of, 59
and damage from Iran-Iraq War, 69–70
demands of, 32–33, 95
Kurd minority (continued)
dispersal during Pahlavi regime, 68
interviews with members of, 122–25
in Iraq, 153, 154
Islamic Revolution of 1979 and, 68
Khomeini and, 68–69
language restrictions and, 67
likelihood of civil war and, 19
population of, 59, 68
potential secession by, 95
poverty of, 95
Saddam Hussein and, 14
secession and, 9
stereotype of, 127
as threat to Tehran, 157–58
unemployment rate of, 98
Kurd separatist movement
leftist/secular support of, 63
Pahlavi suppression of, 62
Soviet support of, 76
language
minority, 30
as symbol of domination, 63
language restrictions, 22, 63, 92, 93, 112,
119, 143, 146
assimilationist policies and, 128
on Azeris and Kurds, 67
on Baluchi language, 72, 123
Khatami and, 39–40, 65
on Türkmen, 74
linguistic diversity, 61
Lund Recommendations on the Effective
Participation of National Minorities
in Public Life, 99–100

Madani, Ahmad, 71
Maghsodi, Mujtaba, 126, 141, 151
Malek, Molavi Abdul, 73
Maloney, Suzanne, 32–34, 41, 56, 159
Marashi, Afshin, 154
Mashayekhi, Mehrdad, 57
media
state control of, 119, 139–40
weakened state control of, 160, 168
See also communication technology;
Internet access; satellite television
media access
empowerment through, 92
influence of, 89
Middle East, Islamic Revolution of 1979
and, 26
Migdal, Joel, 15–16, 19, 49
minority citizenship rights, UN report
on, 100
minority discontent, 91–101
over educational opportunities, 97–98
over exclusion from political process,
98–100
historical challenges of, 93
issues in, 92–93
over language restrictions, 93 (see also
language restrictions)
potential solutions to, 93
over power and economic inequalities,
92
over religious freedom, 95
over socioeconomic disparities, 93–96
stages of, 149
over unemployment, 98
state control of, 138–45
US manipulation of, 100–101
violence due to, 95
minority languages
constitutional rights and, 30
See also language restrictions
Moaddel, Mansoor, 34, 85
Moshiri, Farrokh, 86
multinational states, intrastate conflicts in,
13–14
multinational states, categories of, 14
Musaddiq, Mohammad, CIA coup
against, 159–60
Naderpour, Nader, 35
Nagorno-Karabakh dispute, 78
and Iran’s backing of Armenia, 81
Natishbade, Nasib, 65, 66, 77
nation, as imagined community, 46
national identity
construction of, 154–55
crisis of, 125–33
debates surrounding, 25 (see also security discourse in Iran)
ethnic groups as obstacle to, 28
Khatami’s concept of, 39
Persian ethnicity and, 2
as recent concept, 51

nationalism
anticlerical, 88
borders and, 51
civic, 48
concepts of, 46–50
conflict-prone types of, 47–48
and Constitutional Revolution of 1906, 46
dichotomy with Islamism, 46
Esman’s categories of, 48
ethnic, rise after Cold War, 156
European model of, 52–53
Iran-Iraq War and, 34
Islamic ideology and, 25, 166–67
Khomeini’s rejection of, 31–32
political use of, 47
rejection of, 6
Smith’s propositions about, 48
state-led, 13
syncretic, 48
versus umma security, 27–28

nationalist movements, factors leading to, 86

national power, physical versus nonphysical, 16

national security in Iran
academic emphasis on external factors in, 1
Arab minority and, 115
components of, 80–81
ethnic challenges to, 96
failure of traditional model of, 17
internal versus external threats to, 6, 86, 165, 168
Islamic approach to, 6
levels of, 16–17
postrevolutionary, 43
See also security discourse in Iran
Nejad, Majid Naseri, 111

Newland, Kathleen, 146
non-Muslims, Dhimmi versus infidels, 28
nuclear program
development of, 157
military intervention and, 160
tension over, 92

oil exports, dependence on, 7, 36, 142
Ollapally, Deepa, 27, 32, 34, 76
Orientalism, Iranian identity and, 46, 52–53, 58

Pahlavi, Mohammad Reza, 54, 55
ethnic separatist movements and, 62

Pahlavi regime, 23
Baluchi language ban and, 72
and denial of ethnic minority rights, 31
ethnic conflict and, 62
Iranian identity during, 45
Kurds and, 68
national identity and, 50
Persianist identity and, 25
Turkmen and, 74–75

Pakistan
Baluchi minority in, 153
Baluchi repression in, 62, 73
cross-linkages with Iranian Baluchis, 59, 72, 79, 125, 153–54
ethnic policies of, 12
Panah, Maryam, 90
Persia
history of, 54
invasions of, collective memory and, 57
thinks and poets of, 54
Persian Gulf, dispute over name of, 79
Persian hegemony, 1
Persian identity, 52, 53–54
imposition of, 112
Islamic discourse and, 25
prerevolution emphasis on, 58
Persianization
interviewee statements about, 115–16
See also assimilationist policies
Persian language
   as official language, 63–64, 66, 121–22
   promotion of, 63
Persian population, percentage of Iranian population, 59
political participation, interviewee statements about, 110–13
political parties, ethnicity-based, state ban of, 140–41
political process, and constitutional guarantees for participation in, 100
politcized ethnic identity, 1, 109, 147–49, 168
   as central theme, 1, 163
   conditions for development of, 163
   increased awareness and, 164
   separatist option and, 147–49
Posen, Barry R., 12
poverty, 111
   of Arab minority, 81, 98, 112, 144
   of Baluchi minority, 72, 74
   in ethnic regions, 96, 111, 114, 135, 139, 144–48
   interviewee statements about, 113–15
   of Kurd minority, 95
   in oil-rich regions, 134, 144, 147, 150
   prevalence of, 90
   in Sunni regions, 124
   presidential election of 2009, riots following, 87
propaganda, role of, 146
protests
   arrests of leaders of, 87–88
   See also resistance
Qashqais movement, Reza Shah and, 62
Rashid, Gholamali, internal security
   concerns of, 157
reformist movement
   aftermath of, 42
   failures of, 161
   opposition to, 40–41, 65
   policy changes and, 64–65
   promises of, 67
   public attitudes toward, 91
   unfulfilled promises of, 169
   See also Khatami, Mohammad
regime change
   essential conditions for, 137–38
   examples of, 138
   possibilities for, 169
relative deprivation
   defined, 18
   factors in, 87, 166
   interviewee statements about, 109–10
   after Iran-Iraq War, 36
   in relation to study data, 19–20
   state promotion of, 144–45
   Tehran-centric policies and, 93
   transforming into collective action, 137
Relative Deprivation Theory, 1, 6, 17, 18–19, 19–20, 85–103, 109
   and Islamic Republic’s struggle for legitimacy, 87–91
   and minority discontent, 91–101 (see also minority discontent)
religious affinity, with ethnonationalism, 11
religious freedom, denial of, 22, 95
religious minorities, 29–30
   constitutional recognition of, 73
   in Iranian Parliament, 30
   “legal,” parliamentary representation by, 28
   repression of, 60
   See also ethnoreligious minorities
repression
   under Ahmadinejad, 140
   external reports on, 121
   growing ineffectiveness of, 163, 168
   impacts of, 136, 166
Iran-Iraq War’s influence on, 34
of Kurds, 70
of religious minorities, 60
resistance to, 109, 126, 137–38, 151–52
Tehran’s reliance on, 166
Republic of Azerbaijan, 153
collapse of, 66
ethnic connections with Iranian Azeris, 66
Iranian Azeri response to, 77
Iranian foreign policy and, 77–78
Iran’s relationship with, 76
Israel and, 78
Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and, 81
oil resources of, 78
Soviet support of, 139
research
future focus of, 5
methodology of, 4–5, 164
terms and concepts in, 20–22
theories in, 6
timing of, 5
See also interviewee responses; interviewees; interviews
resistance
by Arab minority, 71–72
to assimilation, 10, 52, 121, 126, 165
interviewee statements about, 130–31, 164
to Shi’a Islam, 7
Revolutionary Guards
Ahmadinejad and, 101
in ethnic regions, 141
internal security concerns of, 157
Kurd repression by, 150
Rigi, Abdulmalek, 80, 141, 153
Roe, Paul, 12, 17
Romano, David, 118, 121, 160–61
Rubin, Michael, 73, 89
Rumi, Jalâl ad-Din, 54
Russia, Iran’s relations with, 81
Safa, Zabihollah, 45
Safavid dynasty, 51
Said, Edward, 45, 47, 50
Samii, A. William, 32, 100, 141
Sanasarian, Eliz, 95, 124
Sariolghalam, Mahmood, 57
satellite television
Arab, 121
impacts of, 110, 153, 160, 168–69
state control of, 140
See also communication technology
Schmerhorn, Richard, 20
Schulz, Ann T., 152
secession
potential for, 2–3, 87
See also separatist option
Second of Khordad Movement, 38, 60, 67
security, expanded concept of, 16
security challenges, sources of, 2
security discourse in Iran, 25–44
and expansionism and umma concept, 26–33
internal versus external influences on, 83
Iran-Iraq War and, 33–35
Khatami and, 38–42
periods of, 26
post-reformist, 42
Rafsanjani and, 35–38
umma concept and, 30–31
See also national security in Iran
Semati, Mehdi, 41
separatist option, 62–63, 72–73, 82, 137–61, 169
argument for, 160
clandestine activities and, 150–51
demands for, 148
failed ethnic expectations and, 146–47
foreign backing of, 100
globalization and, 117
Iranian security state and, 138–45
by Kurd and Baluchi minorities, 124–25
national minority option and, 149–50
and politicization of ethnic identity, 147–49
potential for, 145
Shamkhani, Ali, 65
Shayegan, Daryush, 53–54
Index

Shi’a Iran, Middle East influence of, 3
Shi’a Islam, 1, 28
  Azeris and, 66
  dominance of, 33, 121–22
  groups practicing, 3
  Iran-Iraq War and, 54–55
  as nationalism, 35
  reconciliation with nationalism, 34
  reinterpretation of, 109
  resistance to, 7
Shirazi, Hafez, 54
Shirazi, Sa’di, 54
Smith, Anthony, 47–48
Smith, Steve, 17
social freedoms, restricted, 165
societal identity(ies)
  construction of, 25–26, 44
  ethnonational, 15
  mechanisms for strengthening, 14
  religious, 15
  threats to, 13
  as threat to state, 17
  See also ethnic identity; ethnoreligious minorities
societal insecurity
  versus external threats, 11
  factors in, 10
  interviewee statements about, 109–10
  key signs and symptoms of, 165
  relative deprivation factor in, 99
societal security
  actors in, 18–19
  concept of, 9
  defined, 11
  identity and, 2
  Iranian political situation and, 23
  relative deprivation and, 17
  state stability and, 3
  theory of, 6
  and threats to identity, 85
societal threats
  external, 87
  types of, 85
  society, versus state, 10
socioeconomic deprivation policy, 144–45. See also relative deprivation
socioeconomic issues, 90, 93–94
  International Crisis Group report on, 90
  interviewee statements about, 113–15
sociopolitical reform. See Khatami, Mohammad; reformist movement
Soviet Union
  Azerbijani and Kurdish states and, 76, 139
  demise of, 36–37, 92, 156
  ethnic national republics after demise of, 66
  ethnic policies of, 12
  regional changes after collapse of, 76–77
Stalin, Joseph, 12
state
  ethnic policies of, 12
  internal versus external, 15
  Kedourie’s definition of, 50
  legitimation of, 16
  Migdal’s classification of, 15–16
  multiethnic (see multiethnic states, intrastate conflicts in)
  societal boundaries versus, 9
  versus society, 10
  tensions with societal groups, 13
  as threat to identity, 12
Stavenhagen, Rodolfo, 154
stereotyping, 126–28
  interviewee statements about, 126–28
student activism, 118, 143, 165–66
  Azeri, 150
Sunni Islam
  in Baluchi regions, 72, 122–24
  ethnic minorities and, 3, 61, 63
  Islamic Republic and, 35
  in Kurdish regions, 68, 95, 122–24
  lack of recognition of, 131
  repression of, 73
  Turkmen and, 74
Sunni mosques, absence of, 95, 112
syncretic nationalism, 48
Taheri, Jalaluddin, 90
Taylor, Charles, 21
technological advances, 105. See also communication technology; Internet access; satellite television
Tilly, Charles, 13, 47, 49
transnationalism, definitions of, 154
tribal leaders, appropriation of, 143
Tudeh party, 60
Tunbs, 55
Turkish separatist movements, leftist/ secular support of, 63
Turkmenia, ethnic connections with Iranian Turkmen, 66, 77
Turkmen minority, 3, 31, 32
background of, 74– 75
cross-border linkages of, 59, 66
geographical concentration of, 91
Islamic regime and, 93, 95– 96
percentage of Iranian population, 59
and primacy of ethnic identity, 99
stereotype of, 127
Sunni Islam and, 3, 63, 123, 124
Turner, J. H., 49

umma
adoption and export of, 43
expansionism and concept of, 26– 33
Islamic doctrine of, 6, 57
Khomeini and, 46, 166
unemployment. See employment/ unemployment; poverty
United States
Afghani and Iraqi presence of, 92
destabilization strategies of, 100– 101
impacts of, 152
Iran’s relations with, 3
and manipulation of ethnic grievances, 158
as military power in region, 159
minority wariness toward, 159– 60
UN Special Reporter on Freedom of Minorities, 100
Vali, Abbas, 29
Vaziri, Mostafa, 53, 154
velayat-e faqih, 2
Khomeini and, 26– 27
Velayati, Ali Akbar, 78
violence
deprivation and, 109
See also ethnic conflict/violence
Wæver, Ole, 11– 14, 33
Walipour, Hasan, 33
wars, old versus new, 14– 15
Waxman, Dov, 35– 37, 39
Williams, Colin, 86, 92
women’s status after Iran-Iraq War, 40– 41
youth activists, 118, 143, 165– 66
Yunesi, Ali, 69, 93
Zahed, Said, 45, 53, 56
Zamani, Fakhteh, 100
Zarinkoob, Abdul Hussein, 53
Zibakalam, Sadegh, 50– 51
Zoroastrianism, 45, 127
Zoroastrians, repression of, 60
Zweiri, Mahjoob, 79