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A Sociological Study of Youth Religiosity and its effect on Their Voting Tendency

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Abstract

Religiosity has had important political effects as one of the most important features of Iranian identity. These effects based on contemporary and historical developments, indicate clearly the dynamic and creative nature of this identity in the social construction of political realities in Iran. The present study applies Hunter (1991; 2006) and Wuthnow's (1988) theory of cultural wars to investigate the impact of religiosity on electoral behaviors in terms of voting tendency. The existence of research contradictions regarding the relationship between religiosity and electoral behavior has been provided the necessity of clarifying this relationship in the form of a new research. The statistical population of the study consists of young people aged 22-40 who have participated in at least three general elections. From this statistical population, 377 people were selected by multi-stage cluster sampling as the statistical sample of the research. logistics Regression were used to analyze the data.

The results show that the Degree of religiosity of youth has a significant effect on their electoral behaviors in terms of voting Tendency. So that, the youth who had a high average religiosity tended to be more fundamentalist than reformist. Whereas, young people with low average religiosity tended to be reformists Than fundamentalist. This study contributes to Hunter (1991; 2006) and Wuthnow's (1988) theory of cultural wars by testing it in a unique political context and therefore contextualizes the theory.

Keywords: use of virtual networks, apostasy, youth, marginalization.

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1. Introduction

Religiosity is one of the important features of Iranian identity. The impact of this identity feature on the social developments of Iranians and its function as a departure point for most social developments is traceable in the vast majority of the related literature. As such, religion and religiosity both contribute to meaning making and function in the minds and society of Iranians. Developments in politics and political behaviors are no exception to this rule. The culmination of the determination of religion in the field of Iranian politics can be traced to the Islamic Revolution of 1979.

This revolution, which is a prominent symbol of the Iranian identity resistance to the authoritarian modernity of the Pahlavi regime, undoubtedly and comprehensively questions the theories of the decline of religiosity and the retreat of religion towards modernity at the level of Iranian society and points out the irreplaceable role of religion and religiosity in politics in the modern era. Other numerous and diverse examples can be mentioned about the irreplaceable effects of religion and religiosity in the developments of contemporary Iran which its details take us a little away from the main purpose of the present study. The main concern of this study is paying careful attention to the religiosity of the youth and discovering the political implications of their religiosity. But since the realm of politics is extremely diverse; the present study aims to consider electoral behavior concept to avoid other related constructs that are inconsistent with this research. Thus, the main problem of interest of the forthcoming research is to examine the religiosity of young people and its impact on their electoral behaviors in terms of voting Tendency.

The research that has been done so far on the relationship between religiosity and voting Tendency has been presented conflicting conclusions to the audience of these subjects, so that these researches can be summarized in two general categories; some researches, including the research of Alford (1967-1973), Palse (1986), and Kim (2006) point to the low or even no effect of religiosity on Voting Tendency and mention social class as a predictor of electoral behavior. On the other hand, the other researches such as the researches of Layman and Carmines (1997) and Norris (2000) consider the religiosity as the most effective factor on voting Tendency.

Existing research contradictions regarding the relationship between religiosity and electoral behavior makes important and necessary the repursuing this relationship in the form of an academic research. Therefore, the current research seeks to follow electoral behavior as a behavioral pattern by choosing a well-known theory called the theory of cultural wars, Hunter and Wuthnow (1991-2006) and to obtain this pattern it will look for examples that have participated in at least three national elections, the main question of this research is as follows: Does the religiosity of young people affect their electoral behavior? More specifically, what effect the degree of religiosity of individuals has on their voting tendency.

2. Review of Literature

2-1. Domestic Studies

Ali Darzi (2003) in his master's thesis entitled Election Sociology: Analysis of the pattern of electoral behavior of the people in Markazi province in the eighth presidential election has concluded that religion commitments and adherence to the rulings by voters are very influential factors in their voting attitude(Darzi, 2003:124-138). The findings of Ali Rabiee's study in his book "Sociology of Value Changes": a Look at the Voters' Behavior on June 23, 1997, which is taken from his PhD dissertation, clearly reveals the importance of religious criteria; from Tehran citizens' point of view, out of 48 reasons for Khatami's victory in presidential election, religiosity and honesty as well as sub-characteristics such as following Imam's directions have gained the second place(Rabiee, 1997: 46-58).

Taleban and Mirzaei in a study entitled religiosity and electoral behavior have concluded as follows: those who have associative religiosity tend to participate in mass worship ceremonies such as congregation pray and Jume pray and this paves the way for confrontation and communication with clerics who always emphasize traditional moral values and introduce participation in elections as divine duty and beyond a civic duty. As a result, it can be said that students with more associative religiosity participate in the elections and vote for the fundamentalist faction that has moral-traditional perspectives. Conversely, students with less associative religiosity participate in the elections and vote for the reformist faction who has more liberal moral perspectives, the

results of the research also confirmed the compatibility of these hypotheses with the mentioned theories. Thus, the degree and type of religiosity has a significant effect on the electoral behavior (voting tendency and degree of individual participation in elections) (Taleban and Mirzaei, 2011:162). Abolhassani (2005) in his research entitled "individuals' political attitudes and tendencies (Reformism or Conservatism)", conducted after July 3, 2005 election, the electoral behavior of the participants in the election has been influenced more by broadcasting, religious parties and mobilization bases rather than by political parties and groups (Abolhassani, 2005: 89-102).

2-2. Foreign Studies

The results of a study conducted by Duries et al. (2002), entitled the impact of religiosity and values on the political attitudes of individuals in Flanders (Belgium), show that religiosity is a more important influential factor on the political approach within the social, cultural, and political environment in spite of the great influence of value orientations (Duries 2002: 27-43). Norris (2001) in an article entitled "the US election campaign" has showed that religion plays an important role in the people's vote and elections. The results of the study have shown that religion was the strongest predictor of those who participated in the US presidential election and voted for Bush or Al Gore (Norris, Pippa, 2000: 131). Kotler and Berkwitz (2001) in their study, religion and electoral behavior in Great Britain, have shown that people who express more or severe religious behavior vote for the Liberal Democratic Party rather than the conservatives, while those with stronger religious beliefs support the conservative party rather than the Liberal Democratic(Kotler and Berkwitz, 2001: 523-554). Kim (2006) in his doctoral dissertation entitled" religion and political tendencies in south Korea" has shown that people with more religious beliefs have a more conservative political tendency than people with weaker beliefs; but there is no significant relationship between religious behavior and political tendency (Kim, 2006: 191-206).

Various theories have examined the relationship between the religiosity and Voting Tendency, theories that have examined this relationship in various contexts such as ethnic belongings, social capital, group attachments, etc.

Among the mentioned theories, the current research has based its research framework on the theory of cultural wars. This theory had a favorable applicability in this research according to the statistical research community because this theory examines the relationship between religiosity and Voting Tendency within a religious tradition and not among different religious traditions and the difference in people's political tendencies is related to the difference in different aspects of their religiosity. The statistical community of this research can also provide a suitable ground for testing this theory in the sense that it has the majority of Shiites and represents the believers of a religious tradition.

The theory of cultural wars as a postmodernist theory in line with the discourse of postmodernism has based the basic concept of identity policy on the design and synthesis of its propositions. In identity policy which corresponds to the paradigm of social definitionism or social construction, identity is considered as a dynamic, active, organizing, directional and productive phenomenon and as a departure point from which the reality of social realities in the construction process departs. Therefore, in identity policy, identity is considered as a departure point in social construction, in the sense that identity implies value, meaning, attitude and tendency. In identity policy, identity can be interpreted from the perspective of the concept of social definition and interpretive-understanding approach, which identifies identity not as the subject of policy and policy-making but as the agent and agent of policy and policy-making.

The theory of cultural war focuses on religious identity and its cultural-value implications. According to this theory, the departure point of cultural and political differences and conflicts is rooted in religiosity of individuals. According to this theory, religiosity has a significant effect on the nature of creation and cultural, social, and political structures.

The theory of cultural war has been developed by Hunter (1991, 2006) and Wuthnow (1988) and people like Layman and Carmines (1997) have also used in their research. The term cultural wars refer to religious differences, that is, difference in the manner and extent of religious beliefs and behaviors of followers and supporters of different political parties and tendencies, all of

which follow a religious rite. According to Hunter; the focus of these cultural wars is deep moral and religious differences. On one side of these cultural differences are individuals with traditional religious beliefs and a high degree of religious adherence who tend to be committed to a source of transcendent and definable moral authority; on the other side, there are people with progressive religious beliefs and weaker religious affiliations who reject the moral truths of the traditionalists camp altogether and instead replace a kind of human moral authority within the boundaries of knowledge and the circle of human experience (Layman, 2001:3).

This model emphasizes the relationship between religiosity and electoral behaviors within a religious tradition rather than across religious traditions; that is instead of a reinforcing religious tradition, orthodoxy (believing) and religious commitment (behaving) as two dimensions of religiosity lead to the creation of distinct values among the followers of a religious tradition. According to this theory, key political differences are not between followers of different religions; rather it is among those who have a high level of religious beliefs and obligations (high religiosity) and those who have a low level of religious beliefs and obligations in all religious traditions (Layman, 2001:66).

Religious beliefs influence Voting Tendency because they are a source of political and social values; the values that directly affect the individuals supports of certain parties (Kotler & Berkowitz, 2001:553). Divine beliefs about good morals and social practices often guide individual's political ideologies and group norms (McKenzie, 2004: 262).

Religious practices and activities reinforce the political and cultural differences created by theology within religious traditions. People who adhere to traditional religious practices and tend to worship, read the Torah and Bible, and adhere to daily worship are the most faithful and committed followers of all religious traditions and they do conservatively on cultural issues such as homosexuality, pornography, and abortion (Layman, 2001:54, 66-67). They vote to parties that take conservative positions on such issues. For example, the Republican Party in the United States has a conservative position on these cultural issues. These similar positions lead to a tendency for these individuals to support the Republican Party and its candidates; while people who are less

religious are liberal on such cultural issues and support the parties that have a liberal position on such issues (Green, 2007:3). In summary, the theory of cultural wars suggests that the religiosity of voters has an independent effect on their political orientation and electoral behavior (Layman, 2001: 66-67). Empirical evidence also confirms the relationship between the degree of religiosity and voting tendencies.

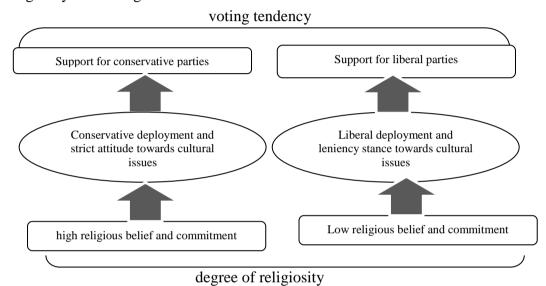


Figure 1. Relationships between variables in the theory of cultural wars. Hunter (1991;2006)and Wuthnow(1988)

By localizing the raised cultural differences including homosexuality, pornography, etc., among parties that are structured in cultural context of western societies and it is related to the differences regarding the level of women's clothing and hijab, the relationship between boys and girls in Iranian society and the research sample, it can be assumed that people with higher religiosity have more closed and strict approaches and positions towards these cultural issues and therefore, they vote for the fundamentalist faction that mainly represents the same approaches and positions and on the other hand, the people with low religiosity who have a more open and lenient approach to these issues vote for the reformist faction who have a similar approach in this regard.

Against this background the main question of this research is as follows: Does the religiosity of young people affect their electoral behavior? More

specifically, what effect the degree of religiosity of individuals has on their voting tendency. The theoretical lens of this study is the theory of cultural wars by Hunter and Wuthnow (1991-2006), applying this theoretical lens we investigate the relationship between religiosity and voting tendency.

Hypothesis: those who have more religiosity, tend to vote more for the fundamentalist rather than the reformist faction. On the other hand, those who have less religiosity tend to vote more for the reformist faction rather than the fundamentalist faction.

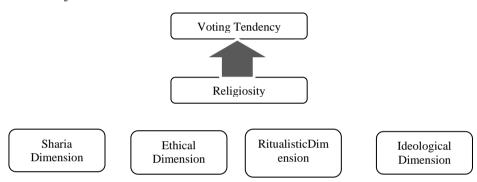


Figure 2. The conceptual model of research

3. Methodology

A descriptive-survey method was used in this study. With regard to the subject of the study and its objectives; our study is a quantitative study. In addition, since a questionnaire was used for data collection, our study is also a survey research in this respect. The data collection instrument, namely, the questionnaire is appropriate for survey study. With regard to the time, given that our scientific study is based on empirical research at a particular time, so it can be considered as a cross-sectional study. Furthermore, since in this study we try to determine the index of a variable and not the causal relationship between the variables, our study is also among the exploratory studies.

The statistical population of the present study includes all citizens of Zanjan who have participated in at least three national elections. Thus, the statistical population of this study consisted of individuals aged between 22 and 40 years old. In this study, in order to examine the research variable, a multi-stage cluster method was used for sampling that according to the estimation formula (p.q), the sample size of 377 participants was selected as the statistical sample

of this study. Since the most common formula for calculating the sample size is the modified Cochran's formula, which is also appropriate for this study, so this formula was used in this study. Due to the fact that in this study we do not have an estimate of the variance of the sample population, based on the highest dispersion of the studied traits p=.5 and q=.5 will be. Also considering the probability of sampling error less than 5%, t will be 1.96.

3-1. Operational Definition of research variables

3-1-1. Religiosity

Religiosity is the degree of influence and manifestation of religion more or less in the mind, psyche and behavior of the individual, which has five dimensions; ideology, being a believer, being a worshiper, acting morally and being ethical (sharia) (Shojaei Zand, 2005: 53).

In this research, the Shujaei Zand model is used to define religiosity among the models of religiosity. Since the existing western models for religiosity generally ignore the differences between religions and their followers and are designed and formulated according to Christianity. Shujaei Zand has sought to distinguish and explain different dimensions of religion from a sociological perspective based on the Islamic principles, Iran's social conditions and considering the principles necessary for a society model of religiosity assessment. Since, according to this sociologist, religiosity has dimensions and components originating from different aspects of religion, which in turn are in proportion to the dimensions of human existence, so he tries to make his proposed model express the logical relationships between these categories on the one hand, in addition to the dimensions, it should indicate the manifestations of religiosity such as its deep effects and consequences, which are used in measurement, on the other hand, (Poyafar, 2007: 261).

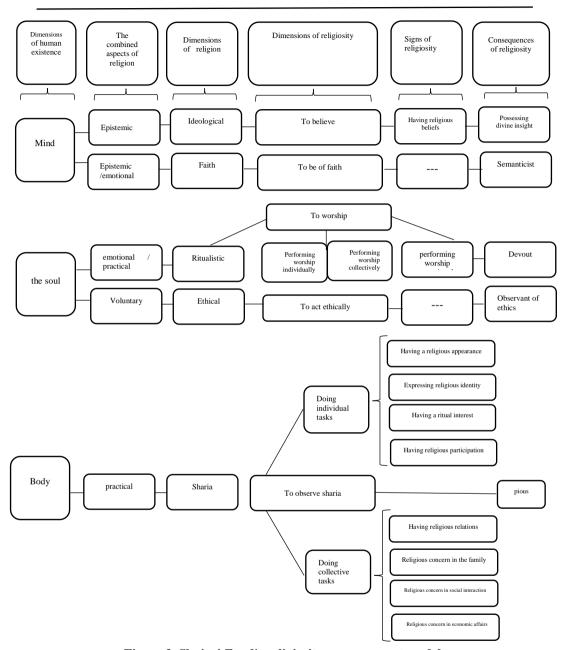


Figure 3. Shojaei Zand's religiosity measurement model (Poyafar, 264:2008)

According to Shojaee Zand's definition, religiosity has five dimensions including ideological dimension, faith dimension, ritualistic dimension, ethical dimension and shari'a dimension. In this study, faith dimension was excluded

due to methodological limitations and that it cannot be measured by survey method and questionnaire.

3-2. Method of measuring research variable

3-2-1. The degree of religiosity

In this study, the survey method and a questionnaire were used to collect data. Thus, respondents were asked to comment on each of the items on a five-point Likert scale ranging from (strongly agree to strongly disagree or always, or at least once a day, almost every day, every day, every week or rarely) to "never" and I never and never pray". Three-item related to veil (Hijab) and religious appearance were collected by observation and had three degrees (acceptable, partial and low).

Table 1, scales and items

Religiosity	Items	Factor	Error
dimensions		Loading	Rate
Ideological	The Quran is an eternal message and is sufficient for human in all ages.	0/85	0/28
Ideological dimension	I believe in the intercession of the Imams for the Shiites.	0/72	0/48
unnension	I believe in the other world and the care of deeds and heaven and hell.	0/90	0/18
	Do you pray?	0/61	0/63
	How likely is it that your morning prayer will be missed?	0/52	0/73
	How often do you attend congregational prayers?	0/37	0/86
Ritualistic	How often do you attend in Jume prayers?	0/37	0/86
dimension	How much do you read the Quran?	0/42	0/82
	Are you a recommended faster?	0/38	0/82
	To what extent are you a participant in the Itikaf ceremony?	0/36	0/87
	How many people participate in the Ehya nights during Ramazan?	0/53	0/72
Ethical	I don't lie under any circumstances.	0/51	0/74
dimension	I avoid hearing others gossip.	0/62	0/64
unnension	To what extent do you forgive the mistakes of others in your right?	0/71	0/45
	If the circumstances require, I am a man of enjoining what is good and forbidding what is evil.	0/54	0/71
	I visit less the friends or relatives who have little religious affiliation.	0/35	0/87
	In choosing a spouse, I give great importance to religious criteria.	0/72	0/48
	To what extent do you participate in mourning ceremonies or religious delegations?	0/81	0/32
Sharia	Are you an imitator in recognizing and performing religious duties?	0/44	0/84
dimension	Shaking hands with an alien (non-mahram) is not a problem in my opinion.	0/63	0/61
difficusion	Proper clothing	0/58	0/67
	There is nothing wrong with using bracelets, rings and gold chains for men. (especially for men)	0/42	0/82
	I never shave my bread by razor (especially for men)	0/38	0/87
	Adherence to hijab (for women)	0/62	0/61
	Outdoor makeup (for women)	0/51	0/69

3-2-2. Electoral behavior

Electoral Behavior as a dependent Variable in this study is the political preferences of voters and Its first step is participating or not participating in elections. This definition is a compound definition and has the necessary comprehensiveness and precision in distinguishing the concept of electoral behavior from other concepts because it is both a matter of choice (attitude) and the extent of voting participation. Sharing ground of our definition of electoral behavior and political involvement is voting. Electoral behavior at least in the form of voting (voting participation) is one of the levels of political participation, which Rush considers to be one of the lowest levels of political participation: the level that requires the least commitment; because as soon as the ballot is cast, it may end (Rush, 1998:129). In general, it can be said that in this study, we measure the electoral behavior in terms of "voting tendency", each of which was presented as a dependent variable in the theoretical framework and hypotheses as well. However, we acknowledge that it does not measure all aspects of electoral behavior. In the following sections, we will define each of them separately.

3-2-3. Voting Tendency

The concept of voting tendency means that a person votes in the election of the candidates of which party or political faction. We mean the two factions of fundamentalists and reformists. In this operational definition, the item "Which faction do you vote for?" is used that includes three parties of fundamentalist, reformist and independent.

3-3. Validity and reliability of research instruments

In this study, previous studies were used to examine the validity of items. Thus, in compiling the questionnaire in addition to Shojaei Zand's model (2005), from other models such as Khodayari Fard's religiosity model (2009), Taliban's (2009), Mohammad Reza Pouyafar's model (the model employed in Kazemi and Faraji's study in national surveys in 2011 and 2016) were used to enhance the validity of the research. Furthermore, in order to obtain acceptable validity, while referring to the supervisors and consultants and deleting and

changing some items, following their opinion, an attempt was made to increase the validity of the items (face validity). Finally, exploratory factor analysis was used to further confirm the identified factors (construct validity). On the other hand, to increase the reliability of the items, before the widespread distribution of the questionnaire, as a pre-test, thirty questionnaires were randomly distributed among the youth and after hearing after hearing their opinions about the wording, explicitness, etc, the questionnaire modified. To confirm the reliability of the questionnaire, internal consistency (-Alpha Cronbach's Coefficient) has used. Cronbach's alpha for measuring religiosity is .94, respectively which indicates the high reliability of the items. The internal reliability of the variables was shown in table 2 separately. In this study, SPSS software were used to analyze data. According to the level of measurement of variables, logistic regression were used to test the hypothesis and measure the relationships between variables.

Table2. Reliability, Mean and Standard Deviation of Respondents' score in Terms of Religiosity Dimension

Variable	Reliability	Mean	Standard Deviation
Ideological Dimension	0.95	4.67	0.568
Ritualistic Dimension	0.94	3.66	0.775
Ethical Dimension	0.93	4.12	0.615
Sharia Dimension	0.94	4.26	0.685
The total score of religiosity	0.94	4.18	0.546
Voting Tendency	0.92	3.88	0.895

4. Findings

Hypothesis: those who have more religiosity, tend to vote more for the fundamentalist rather than the reformist faction. On the other hand, those who have less religiosity tend to vote more for the reformist faction rather than the fundamentalist faction.

Table 3. Classification Table

Obse	erved			
		Voting Ter	Correct	
		Reformist	Fundamentalist	Percentage
Voting endency Reformist		148	22	87.1
	Fundamentalist	14	156	91.8
	89.4			

Based on the results of logistic regression analysis in table 3, with the inclusion of the variable of religiosity, 87.1 percent of all those who voted for the reformists are still in the voting conditions for the reformists and 91.8 percent of all those who voted for the fundamentalists are still in the voting conditions for the fundamentalists. In general we can say, religiosity variable (independent variable) was able to correctly classify 89.4 percent of the participants in the existing voting tendencies.

Tabla	4	Coefficienta
1 able	4.	Coefficients

Inte	raction	-2Log likelihood	Coefficients		
			constant	В	
	1	232/051	-7/882	0/088	
	2	194/072	-11/202	0/158	
	3	178/591	-17/885	0/206	
Step 1	4	172/456	-20/651	0/243	
	5	172/377	-21/283	0/254	
	6	172/376	-21/321	0/254	
	7	172/376	-21/321	0/254	

a.Initial-2Longlikelihood: 451/775

Based on the output status, R2 is equal to 0.79. That is, 0.79 of the variance of the dependent variable (voting tendency) is explained by the independent variable (degree of religiosity). The fit of the model is also increased and significant due to the reduction of the likelihood logarithm (likelihood-2log) value from 451.77 to 172.376 in table 4. Sig =0.000 indicates that the degree of religiosity is able to predict electoral behavior (voting behavior). Significance of B coefficient has been determined according to the significance level of waled test (74.47) and (72.996) and the degree of chi-square model (282.34) in the significance level (sig =0.00)indicates the significance of the effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable at the 99% confidence level. The positive sign of the coefficient of religiosity in the B-logistic model also shows that as the level of religiosity increases, the probability of voting for the fundamentalists increase.

According to the Logit model (related to the degree of religiosity and voting tendency), for 1 point increase in the degree of religiosity, the logarithm increases the probability of the dependent variable (voting for fundamentalists) by 0.25. Thus, the ratio of superiority or Exp (B) shows (1.288), 1 point

increase in the independent variable (religiosity degree) increases the chances of voting for fundamentalists. In other words, the higher a person's religiosity, the more likely he or she is to vote for the fundamentalists.

Table 5	.Logistic	Regression	Analysis
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df	(sig)	(Consta	int)	(B)	NagelkerkeR ²	-2Log	Model chi-	Exp(
						likelihood	square	B)
1	0.000	-21.321		0.254	0.788	172.34	382.34	1.288
		Waled Test	72.996	74.476				

5. Conclusion

The main purpose of the current research was the sociological investigation of the effect of youth religiosity on their voting tendency. Based on the results obtained; the degree of religiosity of young people has had a significant effect on their voting tendency. This result is significantly consistent with the findings of the studies conducted by Duries (2002), Norris (2000), Kotler and Berkowitz (2001). Conducting this research in the city of Zanjan, a city that is famous for its religiosity and has been called the city of Hosseini's passion and wisdom by the Supreme Leader, has provided a favorable situation to examine the productive capacities of religiosity in the political arena. In this research, samples from four areas of Zanjan city have been investigated; the impact of religiosity on voting tendency is evident. Moreover, according to the results of the research, the voting tendency of young people is significantly influenced and directed by their religiosity.

The current research, which based its theoretical framework on Hunter's (1991; 2006) and Wuthnow (1988) theory of culture wars, suggests the evidence of this theory in the considered statistical community. According to the theory of culture wars, the degree of religiosity of Youth, through the creation of meanings, structures and cultural tendencies, has a significant effect on their voting tendency. Active and productive religious identity, which is the main component of this theory; is a prominent example in the studied society and based on the results obtained, the Degree of religiosity of the youth has played an effective role in the process of social construction of socio-political realities and the creation of cultural tendencies and their electoral actions as well. Accordingly, the starting point of the cultural differences directed at the political differences of the youth is related to the difference in their Degree of

religiosity. By localizing the cultural differences raised in the theory of cultural wars, including homosexuality, pornography... which is structured and meaningful in the cultural context of western societies, and with regard to differences considering women's clothing and Hijab, the relationship between boys and girls, etc., in Iranian society and the research sample, it is assumed that people with higher average religiosity have more closed and strict approaches and positions towards these issues and cultural issues. Therefore, they support the fundamentalist sect, which mainly represent the same approaches and positions, and their voting tendency is directed towards the candidates of this faction. In contrast, people with a lower average religiosity, who have a more open and lenient approach to these issues, support the reformist faction who have a similar approach in this regard; hence they tend to vote for their desired candidates. The obtained results have confirmed the mentioned assumptions.

The present study has also faced limitations in its implementation process. Among other things, measuring the dimensions of religiosity is not an easy task because each person can have a different way of assessing their religious status, and therefore the validity of the research can be reduced by generalizing to individuals. To modify this limitation in future research, it is suggested to use qualitative methods to measure religiosity. In this study, it was not possible to perform qualitatively due to special conditions caused by the corona epidemic.

It was not possible to measure the empirical dimension of religiosity due to the application of the survey method in the research and in terms of the measurement limitations of this method. It is suggested that this important dimension of religiosity is measured using qualitative methods in future research to obtain a more comprehensive picture of people's religiosity.

In this study, electoral behavior was examined in the terms of voting tendency due to time constraints. It is suggested that in future research, electoral behavior will be discussed on a broader level than the above mentioned cases including the degree and level of activity in elections and its relationship with the degree of religiosity will be measured. In the end, it is suggested that the relationship between religiosity and voting tendency in

various fields and contexts such as the context of generational, class, ethnic differences, etc. should be measured.

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