

Social stability of youth in the discourse of ethnic and national identities in the Iran-Iraq war

Abbas Yousefi Sheikh Rabat¹
Ali Hossein Hosseinzadeh^{*2}
Hossein Karimi Fard³
Fereydoun Akbarzadeh⁴

Received 12 December 2021, Accepted 1 March 2022

Abstract

The discussion of the status of national identity along with ethnic identities in the country and the connections between them has always been discussed by experts in the fields of social sciences. Some consider the situation to be in crisis and some consider it to be a minimal crisis. On the other hand, the Islamic Republic of Iran has always sought to form a religious-political identity even beyond the national borders. This approach requires the best discourse of ethnic identities. This article, which is the result of a research at the level of five Iranian ethnicities, i.e. Turks, Kurds, Arabs, Baloch and Persians, and seeks to measure the components of this ethnic discourse among five Iranian ethnicities. This research is considered to be applied and quantitative in terms of method. The statistical population of the research is 150 people from five ethnicities: Arabs, Turks, Baloch, Persians and Kurds. The results of this research showed that all the ethnic groups present in Iran were at high levels of solidarity during the Iran-Iraq war, although the Azari ethnicity had more solidarity.

Keywords: Identity discourse, social distance, solidarity, social sustainability.

1. Introduction

First of all, the Iranian identity is compared with the concept of the land of Iran. The country that is now called Iran is actually a part of historical Iran,

1. Ph.D. student of political science, Department of Political Science, Ahvaz Branch, Islamic Azad University, Ahvaz, Iran. abasusefi@gmail.com

2*. Professor, Department of Political Science, Ahvaz Branch, Islamic Azad University, Ahvaz, Iran. Professor of Sociology Department, Shahid Chamran University, Ahvaz, Iran. (Corresponding Author) E-mail: A.hosseinzade@scu.ac.ir

3. Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Ahvaz Branch, Islamic Azad University, Ahvaz, Iran. hkarimifard@yahoo.com

4. Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Ahvaz Branch, Islamic Azad University, Ahvaz, Iran. akbarzadeh.f4675@gmail.com.

where different ethnic groups have always entered and grown, and each of them has its own marks and signs. left in its culture and civilization (Rekabian et al., 2018: 60). In fact, ethnic diversity is a relatively comprehensive and global reality, and ethnic groups play a significant role in the development and peace or internal and external conflicts of countries (Barsultan, 2014: 154). From the sociological point of view, identity is the answer to what and who people are, which can be explained in individual, collective, historical, religious, national, ethnic and religious dimensions. According to UNESCO's definition, identity is the central core of individual and collective personality that shapes the main actions, behaviors and decisions of an individual or a group (ethnicity, nationality) (Salimi, 2009 and Masoudnia et al., 2013:143).

From the ontological point of view, identity shows what and who a person is, which has both the meaning of similarity and the meaning of dissimilarity. Of course, this way of looking at oneself or one's group has existed since the beginning of human collective life and has become more intense in recent centuries (Perki and NastiZaei, 2020:92). In fact, ethnic borders are the frameworks of social ties and group differences that are created based on the determination of in-group and out-group members. Ethnic communities are defined based on different standards, but most of them emphasize the two components of culture and geography (Masoudnia et al., 2018: 518). Therefore, an ethnic group has a distinction and demarcation with other ethnic groups, which has a different identity for itself, based on which it behaves (Haqpanah, 2010: 84). In fact, ethnicity is a powerful source for defining and finding meaning in the context of common historical roots such as common beliefs, language or culture (Zlatnik et al. (2010); quoted by Sardarnia and Safizadeh, 2019: 98). It can be said that the issue of ethnic conflicts is one of those issues that continues and has no end.

The path that starts with political waves and will not end, and the experience of developed countries of the world and countries that are at a high level in terms of civil society shows that ethnic tensions are still not resolved and new issues arise every day. will be The only difference with societies like ours and third world societies is that the level of violence is decreasing day by day. It should be accepted that our country, like most countries, is multi-ethnic.

Apparently, about four to five thousand ethnicities have been identified in the world, which have gathered within the framework of the current governments, and the current situation indicates that these different ethnicities living in different countries have problems with each other. (Ramazanzadeh; 1997) The experience of ethnic conflicts in Yugoslavia after the Peace Charter proved that it is impossible to divide countries based on ethnicities. Due to the fact that the borders are collapsing, experience showed that when Yugoslavia broke up due to ethnic conflicts due to the conflict of three ethnic groups (Muslims, Croats and Slavs) who could not live together - naturally, these ethnic groups could not form stable relations in Bosnia. and therefore in a smaller set, it is inevitable that the growing trend of migration in the world and the shifting of borders makes the human borders do not match with the geographical borders. (Ramazanzadeh; 1997) If we consider this issue, we can look at the issue from different perspectives, from the perspective of the interests of the groups, from the perspective of the interests of the governments, each of which will have its own expectations.

Therefore, how to solve the issue of ethnic crisis in Iran and the aggravating factors of the aforementioned crises are of particular importance. In this regard, internal factors should be investigated and evaluated first, then external or international factors in the creation and continuation of the ethnic crisis in Iran should be considered. Accordingly, achieving national identity requires adopting a suitable strategy for linguistic, racial, religious, religious and other ethnic minorities in Iran. This type of strategy can fluctuate from different assimilation tactics to multiculturalism (social engineering) and although national identity is the most important and legitimate form of collective identity, its other tendencies such as ethnic identity , religious, religious and gender are also important (Khalili and MehrabanIncheBrun, 2020:34) based on such an approach, identity can be considered as a fluid and multifaceted phenomenon, the result of a continuous historical process that is influenced by environmental conditions. , has always been linked with the political and social developments of human societies and continues like a river flowing in time and space and inCurrently, it is undergoing transformation (Rekabian et al., 2018: 53), transformations that sometimes create tensions at the national level

because identity, with its negative and positive features, forms the demarcation of "us" against "others" (HaqPanah, 2010:88). Ethnic identities can be opposed to national identity and vice versa, but what is important in this confrontation is the interaction and discourse of these ethnic groups in line with national and collective interests. Relations between ethnic groups have more social stability. In the discourse that occurs between ethnic identities, national identity will be more important. Usually, ethnic conflicts are related to ethnic problems based on autonomy (Siderman and Wicherpfenig; 2017). In sum, data that explain the true significance of group political identities and new methods that add geographic and psychological information to each ethnicity all make important gains. (McCauley; 2017 and Birnier et al.; 2015) For example, the Iran-Iraq war occurred in a situation where the nascent Islamic revolution and many social and economic problems plagued the new political system of Iran, and of course Iraq as the initiator of the war was a very good choice. It was calculated. This country was known as an ally of the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc, and Iraq's involvement with Iran would naturally put the Soviet Union and the Communists in support of Saddam alongside America and Europe, eliminating possible tensions (Mahmoudi). et al., 105:2014).

Therefore, it was necessary to defend and resist the aggressions of Saddam and his internal and external supporters, unity and cohesion, and a high degree of belonging and national identity among all ethnic groups and followers of Iran's religions. Therefore, the victory in eight years of imposed war is a precious cultural and political heritage that was created by all ethnic groups and religious minorities and all of them (Azeris, Kurds, Baloch, Arabs, Turkmen, etc.) and also Christian, Zoroastrian and Kilimian natives played a pivotal role in its creation by being influenced by the same factors (being Iranian and Islamic). During the eight years of imposed war, religious minorities did not separate themselves from their fellow countrymen and went to the war fronts along with them. According to the available statistics, the martyrs of religious minorities include eighty-eight Christians; Sixteen people were Kalimi and nine were Zaratisti. Armenians of Iran have the highest number of martyrs and veterans among religious minorities with 200 martyrs, veterans and missing persons. This shows the social stability in the discourse of

ethnic identities in the Iran-Iraq war. This is despite the fact that in the multi-ethnic country of Iran, the issue of ethnic identity and its relationship with national identity has always been one of the important issues of interest to researchers as well as policy-makers and planners. In the last few decades, the issue of national identity and ethnic identity and the investigation of issues related to identity and its dimensions have become one of the main and central issues of political science. Because after the passage of three decades since the Iran-Iraq war, we are witnessing the change of the social scene to the arena of cultural war, and as a result, we are witnessing conflicts and sometimes conflicts in the form of ethnic groups and separatist calls. It is certain that the intellectual and identity foundations of a society are very important in the formation and direction of the political and social developments of that society, and the course of the society's movement is determined based on it, as well as social political developments in the development of identities. are effective; Therefore, ignoring this issue can prevent societies from being organized in the political, social, economic, and cultural fields and provide the ground for the emergence of important challenges in the field of social stability at the community level.

In addition to this, managing the social stability of ethnic relations, increasing national identity, realizing national unity in the framework of the sense of belonging, solidarity and loyalty of different ethnic groups and strata to the land, history, culture, nation and government, as well as creating a general consensus on major political and social issues. It requires that the level of participation and the role of ethnic identity in the most important historical event of the Islamic Revolution during the Holy Defense period should be monitored in order to help improve social stability today by following the example of how ethnicities interact in the discourse between them. It is also observed that various ethnic groups and religious minorities have settled in the most important strategic areas of the country and border walls, whose rear is beyond the borders and outside the sphere of influence and influence of the national government.

According to this description and based on various statistics, between 40 and 50 percent of Iran's population consists of non-Persian ethnic groups, the

occurrence of conflicts between them can have harmful effects and consequences on these regions as well as on political and social relations. and brought in the culture of the people (Darvishi, 2009, 122). Among them, it is possible to point out the geographical location of the ethnic groups, the types of discrimination they endure and the relations they have with the government, which have been very important for the government (Argodes, 2017). Therefore, the diversity of ethnic groups in Iran can be both an opportunity and a threat. be considered With this diversity of ethnicity in Iran, where cohesion and integration are in the first place in the management of the country, the concept of political mobilization of ethnicity is an important aspect of this field. Ethnic political mobilization is a process by which ethnic groups increase the readiness of the ethnic group for collective action by creating loyalty of members to an organization or leader based on ethnic issues. There are many factors affecting the mobilization of ethnicity and there is no single theory about consensus regarding the explanation of the political mobilization of ethnicity (Mehri et al., 2013, 2019).

Michael Feridon (2003) emphasizes the flexibility of ideologies, the cognitive necessity of beliefs and actions and believes that ideology draws the political and social world of a person and social realities and political events never speak for themselves. ; Rather, they always need a process that Interpret and decode. (SiddiqUrei and AsgharpourMasuleh, 2018:2). Identity is one of the factors that play a role in political events and includes the meanings that a person uses in certain situations to explain who he is. (Masoudnia et al., 2018: 518). Multiplicity and diversity of identity has been a reality in almost all societies in the past and present, which is less denied in Iran, and ethnicity has gained special prominence in different periods due to political and military events (Samadi and HaqMoradi,2016: 6).

National identity is one of the types of collective and social identity that a person with the pronoun "we" considers himself to belong to elements and symbols such as history, land, religion, cultural pride, government, language and national literature, and in front of that, he feels commitment and loyalty. and assigns. Most researches and studies in this field have four dimensions of national identity: 1. They consider territorial (geographic), 2. cultural-social, 3.

political and 4. historical (Rabbani et al. Meanwhile, the feeling of belonging and loyalty to the political system is of particular importance. In other words, it is important for people who live in a political geography and have the citizenship of that country; Emotionally and psychologically consider yourself a member of the political system because when countries face and enter into internal crisis and regional war, it is the nation's sense of belonging and dedication to the government that is a great capital for victory, preserving the integrity It guarantees the territoriality and independence of states (Masoudnia et al., 2013:143). Therefore, national identity is a populist identity and loyalty to the national government is necessary for it (Karvani and GhafariNasab, 2018: 218).

Surveys show that when a war occurs, nations look for a solution and reaction to protect themselves against this aggression, among these solutions are preserving and strengthening national identity and creating national solidarity. be; In other words, identity is one of the components of national cohesion, which acts as a platform for the formation of defense against aggression and finally creates a sense of national integration among members of the society. Based on this, the occurrence of war and the awareness and sense of belonging of people's loyalty to their identity, places them in a single and similar group as a nation, based on which they feel belonging to each other and at the same time, difference and differentiation. have felt towards their groups (Mahmoudi et al., 2014:108). Considering the ethnic and cultural diversity that exists in Iran, studies show that belonging and loyalty to the national identity is high among Iranians; So that the results of Yousefi's research (2000) show that the average level of national identity, which shows belonging and loyalty to the national identity, among the Baloch people is 89.4; Ler tribe 88.7; Persian people 84.7; Turkish people are 83.6 and Kurds are 81.7 and in general it is 84 among all Iranian ethnic groups (Qasimi et al., 2010: 73). National identity and its continuation is a serious responsibility that should be entrusted to the young generation, and knowing the conditions of belonging to the national identity of the past generation, especially during the war, can be a way forward for the future young generation.

Therefore the question of this article is: What was the social distance of the five ethnicities present in the Iran-Iraq war in the discourse of ethnic and national identities?

2.Review of Literature

2.1. The concept of ethnic identity

In order to clarify the concept of ethnic identity discourse as a solution to the problem, we must first understand ethnicity. Ethnicity has become a major topic in social and political sciences during the past decades. Barth also defines ethnic identity based on the element of self-awareness and emphasizing the cultural elements of a group (Amosi and Fakuhi (2008); Sardarnia and Safizadeh, 2020:98). The issue of ethnicism is one of the sensitive issues that are directly related to the national interests of all countries that somehow include several different ethnic groups. It is obvious that the more ethnic and religious diversity in society, the more complex social issues are and their solution is associated with more difficulties, and one of the main concerns in such societies is to achieve national unity and integration (Armand, 2015). , 2).

In the definition of the nation, it should be said that the "nation" is a society of people who have a "common origin" (whether real or imaginary), a common destiny, a common feeling, and a relative monopoly of common valuable resources (reward, force, respect, and knowledge). And in connection with other groups and ethnic groups and based on common cultural codes and symbols in an intra-group interaction field, with the acquisition of collective identity, it becomes us. According to the mentioned definition, ethnicity is a cultural-social phenomenon and ethnic groups are distinguished from each other based on cultural (symbols, values, norms and rituals) and social (relational characteristics) differences (Yousfi , 2000, 15) In this article, it is necessary to study the Iranian ethnic groups of Turks, Kurds, Arabs, Baloch and Persians. In one sentence, discourse analysis can be defined as the discovery of apparent and hidden meanings in discourse streams that are revealed in various linguistic and meta-linguistic forms (Hijazi and Bahrami, 2018:3). It should be acknowledged that considerable public knowledge has accumulated about their ethnicity and political leanings. However, little is

known about the processes that link identity, ideologies, leadership, mobilization, and political action. (Robert Garr; 2017)

Investigations Social stability has not been investigated in the discourse of the 5 great tribes of Iran during the Iran-Iraq war. In the event that we have witnessed the presence of these ethnic groups with their religious beliefs in all national events for a long time. Religious minorities and different Iranian ethnic groups have played a coordinated role in the eight-year Iran-Iraq war in protecting the country and the Islamic system; And without a doubt, rereading this moment in the bright history of the country in the direction of moving and maintaining national and religious bonds to overcome emerging crises.

Yaz is efficient (Mansournjad, 103). Since the intellectual and identity foundations of a society are very important in shaping and directing the political and social developments of that society, and in fact, the course of society's movement is determined based on this, and on the other hand Social political developments are also effective in the development of identities; Therefore, ignoring this issue can prevent societies from being organized in the political, social, economic and cultural fields and create the ground for important challenges. In addition to this, managing ethnic differences, increasing national identity, and realizing national unity within the framework of the sense of belonging, solidarity and loyalty of different ethnic groups and strata to the land, history, culture, nation and government, as well as creating a general consensus on major political and social issues, are required. The level of participation and the role of ethnic identity in the most important historical event of the Islamic Revolution during the Holy Defense period should be observed.

One of the basic issues in multi-ethnic societies like Iran has always been how "ethnic societies" should be connected with each other in order to form an inclusive and stable "national society". If we consider the "state-nation" approach as a political approach in the convergence process, we should consider the "nation-nation" approach as a social approach in which the role of the social relations of the ethnic groups becomes prominent (Yousfi, 2001, 14).

In Iran, the composition of the population is such that the term multi-ethnic society is not far from reality. The presence and life of different ethnicities

such as Persians, Turks, Kurds, Lers, Baluchs, Turkmens and Arabs next to each other and in a single geographical political framework expresses the ethnic-cultural diversity of Iranian society. And since the different residents of today's Iran are a "heterogeneity" collection of different racial, linguistic, religious and cultural ethnic groups, therefore, if sufficient cohesion is not formed, this itself can be considered as a critical point in the future (Balsells; 2011, quoted from Moaidfar et al., 2016, 21). Now, in this article, we are trying to answer the question of how much social distance exists between national ethnic identities by examining the social stability of the discourse of Iranian ethnic identities in the Iran-Iraq war. Is the stability of the social relations of different Iranian ethnic groups in a good state?

The results of the research of others such as Pourhasan and Bagharabadi (2018) show that in Kermanshah, as a city with the largest Kurdish population among Kurdish cities in Iran, ethnic nationalist movement has not yet occurred. Because the elites of Kermanshah, by symbolizing the elements of national identity, have caused the reconstruction of national identity in Kermanshah and have been one of the reasons for not forming ethnic movements in Kermanshah. Moaidfar and Rezaei (2016) in a research about ethnicities in Iran and their relationships and connections with the central government and its crises. Salah and Amiri (2015) also examines the role of Baloch warriors in the eight years of holy defense, examining the role and assistance with the help of the concept of national identity. Armand and Pisure (2015) investigate and explain the solidarity of Iranian ethnic groups in the discourse of national unity. In his research, Barsoltan (2014) investigates the most important social issues in the security of the Islamic Republic of Iran, ethnic diversity, which can be both a source of challenges and opportunities for growth. Shahriari (2011) examines the Iran-Iraq war from the perspective of different approaches, theories and angles of the war. In this research, the antagonism, hostility and alienation of the geopolitical speech of Iraq compared to the value-oriented Islamism speech of the Islamic revolution can be clearly observed. In the cross-border research, it is also observed that Millefant et al. (2020) in their research come to the conclusion that based on the perspective of social identity, people take a part of their identity from the groups they belong

to. And for this reason, they see their group as superior. Idris (2012) also deals with the role of education from childhood and during school as an efficient tool to build and shape the national identity of the people of a country. Nabawi Abdul Amir (2012) discusses ethnic conflicts in Egypt and the role of political forces and suggests that the issue of ethnic divisions and religious differences in Egypt is not a new issue and there has been concern about the consequences of such a reality for a long time. He states that, in fact, political activists are worried that the growth of such conflicts will lead to the expansion of the military's involvement in affairs, and also render ineffective any measures to improve the country's chaotic economic situation. And he states that trying to improve the conditions of minorities is considered the most important test for political activists and the new government.

McCauley (2017) in his research paper on the separation of identities for the study of ethnic conflicts states that competition for resources, overlapping identity gaps, and weak government institutions are important factors in the cause of ethnic violence. In identifying these factors, ethnic identities are seen as political tools rather than primary divisions. He states that the study of ethnic conflicts is limited by the tendency to fixate on the political interests of actors in very different identity contexts. Eric Sederman (2016) in a study entitled *Inter-Ethnic Group Inequalities, Conflict and Political Organizations* emphasizes that ethnic conflicts are usually about "nationality problems" related to self-determination, and are therefore known as ethno-nationalist conflicts, which arise from inequalities It is political and economic between groups. What is needed, he argues, is a firmer understanding of the precise causal mechanisms, including the processes of ethnic mobilization through political organizations. Goodes (2017) in his research on the identity of the victim of ethnic conflict argues that the world should now focus on data collection efforts at the individual level, according to To better understand the complex and changing dynamics of conflict that occur after the onset of collective violence. This includes expanding our theoretical and empirical knowledge about the dynamics of non-lethal forms of violence, such as displacement, gender-based violence, and the use of forced labor.

2.2. Social Stability

The discussion of social sustainability in this research is based on the Bogardus spectrum or the social distance. The purpose of the Bogardus spectrum is to measure the social distance between groups, and the application of this spectrum is when, for example, two different groups with two different cultures and languages live together, or when people of different nationalities and geographically far apart live together. There are mutual relations (for example, in measuring the attitude towards the job/social class/religious groups), this spectrum is used. This spectrum measures a group's preference towards other groups in an ordinal scale (full inclination/moderate inclination/somewhat/uninclination). Bogardus considered a declarative or object sentence for each of the seven points on the spectrum. It is assumed that if someone agrees with the first item, he also agrees with the other items. Bogardus considered seven items in his research (marriage - close friend - neighbor - colleague - countryman - guest - dismissal). This spectrum or social distance measuring scale was invented by Bogardus. Bogardus tried to come up with a method by which he could measure how much people like or dislike something. For this purpose, he considered a spectrum where on one side (mostly left) desire or acceptance and on the other side (mostly right) unwillingness or disgust and in the middle of that was considered average desire. Then he divided this range into seven parts so that the respondent can choose between them and provide a more accurate measurement.

The Research hypothesis is: It seems that there was a little social distance between the five Iranian tribes of the current research during the Iran-Iraq war.

3. Methodology

The general approach of this research is quantitative and of a descriptive-survey type, which was carried out in two parts of documentary and field studies. A questionnaire tool was used to access field information. Based on this, two different types of questionnaires were prepared based on social stability indicators. Also, the data collection from the statistical population of the present research, due to its historical nature, includes people who were present during the imposed war of Iraq against Iran, who through statistics And

the information of the Martyr's Foundation has been prepared. These people must have been in the front for at least one year, and on this basis, they have been investigated to investigate the relationship between the five tribes. It should be said; Based on the mentioned conditions, the total number of 150 people, the available sample size, has been randomly selected and examined.

It should be noted that this research is conducted in the framework of deductive-inductive reasoning, which means that the theoretical foundations and background of the research are based on library studies, articles and websites in a deductive format and gathering information to confirm or reject hypotheses in an inductive format. Paying attention to the type of research data, to analyze the relationship between the variables, the level of social stability was first determined using the Bogardus sociological spectrum. This means that the quantitative information of the statistical population was analyzed by the Bogardus spectrum tool after extraction and analysis.

For each of the seven points on the spectrum, Bogardus considers a declarative sentence or object, which, according to the social values of his time and place, expressed the degree of willingness or unwillingness of a point on the spectrum. These items are provided to the respondent, who must express his first feeling and reaction. These items are numbered in order. Then the number of each item is multiplied by the percentage of people who agreed with that item. (Sarmed and others; 2016) From the sum of the products, a number is obtained that shows the tendency of the respondents towards that subject. This kind of extraction method is called "weighting" method. The researcher assigns a quantitative value from 1 to 7 to each of the degrees in numerical order; Therefore, the order of scoring is completely optional, but since the reliability of this scale is more than 90%, it can be considered satisfactory. (Oppenheim, A.N; 2016).

4. Findings

Descriptive statistics are those statistical methods that help the researcher in classifying, summarizing, describing and interpreting and communicating through the collected information. (Delawar, Ali, 2019), one of the most

important advantages of using descriptive statistics is summarizing a huge amount of information.

Table 1. Selected components of social stability of youth in five Iranian ethnicities

Fars	did	Baloch	Arab	Azari	category	Score
67	58	41	35	48	Kinship by marriage	7
66	68	47	74	58	as a roommate	6
66	55	56	64	46	as a neighbor	5
43	64	67	34	63	as a collaboration	4
53	38	48	65	72	As a fellow citizen	3
73	78	85	87	87	as a tourist	2
83	84	89	98	95	No entry to the area (reversed)	1
64%	64%	62%	65%	67%	The percentage of social sustainability	
				64%	The percentage of ethnic stability	

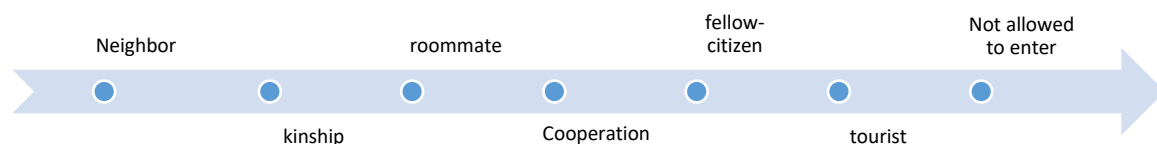


Figure 1. measuring the social distance of Azari ethnicity based on the Bogardus

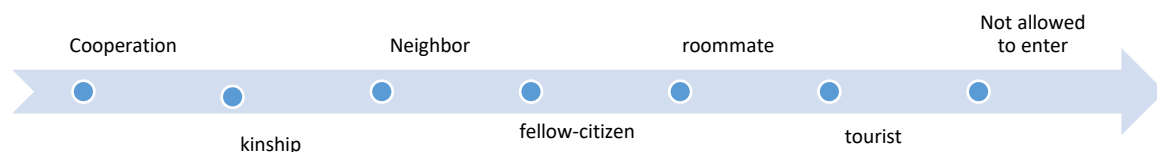


Figure 2. measuring the social distance of Arab ethnicity based on the Bogardus



Figure 3. measuring the social distance of Baloch ethnicity based on the Bogardus

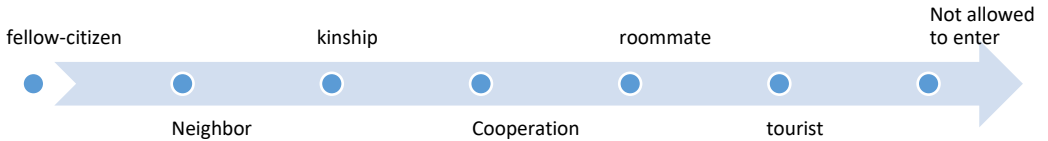


Figure 4. measuring the social distance of Kurd ethnicity based on the Bogardus

5. Conclusion

In this article, an attempt was made to investigate the atmosphere of conflict between the 5 ethnic discourses of Iran with each other during the imposed war between Iran and Iraq. Iran's Islamic revolution supported and contained a discourse that was both in line with the goals and necessities of fighting arrogance and promoting and spreading the model of political Islam to the region and the world. In other words, Iran's Islamic Revolution based its foreign policy on the basis of independence, fighting against oppression, arrogance and trying to promote the Islamic model to the region and the world, in line with the discourse of Islamism. Now, considering the importance of the compatibility of different ethnicities in Iran, this Islamic model can grow better in the political arena. Now, according to the extracted questionnaires, analyzes and Bogardusi's analysis in five Turkish, Kurdish, Arab, Baloch and Persian ethnicities, it is clear that the ethnicities with intensity and weakness in the components of social distance are almost from one have a degree of stability; In other words, the degree of stability and instability of the components of social distance in ethnicities are close to each other in such a way that Baloch ethnicity is the most stable level of social distance and Azeri ethnicity is considered the most unstable social distance at the level of ethnicities.

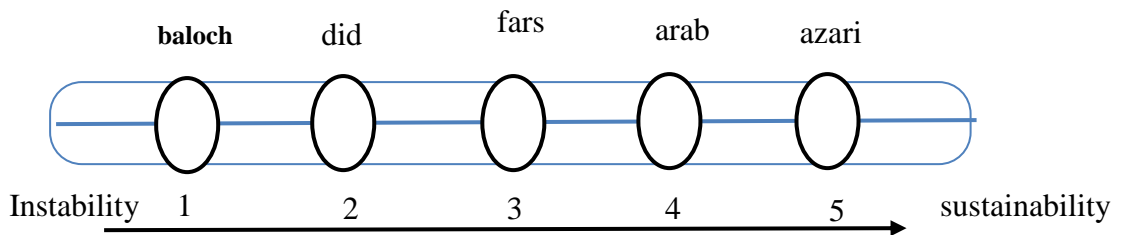


Figure 5. measuring the social distance of ethnicities

On the other hand, according to the level of stability of the mentioned 5 ethnicities, the level of social stability of all ethnicities⁶⁴ is a percentage. Since the level of social stability in the Baloch ethnicity is close to 60%; This is a clear conclusion that this power has a higher percentage of instability and social distance. The results of the research show that the instability of Baloch ethnicity is more in the social distance components of kinship, co-citizen and roommate, and the social stability is more in the components of being a tourist and not being banned from entering. Chart No. 6 shows the stability of social relations by ethnicity.

Regarding the creation of social stability in the studied ethnicities, the following strategies show that during the Iran-Iraq war, the highest social stability and the lowest social distance between different ethnicities prevailed.

The proposed and final point of the article is that the analysis of the Iran-Iraq war from the perspective of the social distance of its ethnic groups, along with many descriptive studies or based on the theories of realism and neo-realism, can help us understand more about the war. Tahami, the desires, goals and success of our country in the field of security after the war, is a worthy help for our young generation and to draw a better view of the factors of its occurrence. Discourse analysis, as one of the important approaches in human sciences, can give great help to this matter and help further researches and studies in this regard and even other such cases. Finally, it is suggested that now that we are not in a state of war, and in fact we are interacting with global arrogance with a soft war, and in a kind of cultural war that the soldiers of this war are mainly the dear youth of our country, with a better understanding of this importance, the young generation of our dear country can be grew and nurtured in more security with lessons from the past in different ethnicities, now also based on the same re-measurement scale, a research should be done so that a comparison in different conditions compared to the time of war will show us how much social stability is soft in war conditions. We have been successful.

References

- Armand, F; Pisureh, F (2016), examining the interaction and solidarity of Iranian ethnic groups in the discourse of national unity, *Research of Nations*, first volume, fourth issue, pages 1-6.
- Anita R. Gohdes (2017) Bringing Perpetrator and Victim Identities into Empirical Ethnic Conflict Research, *Ethnopolitics*, 16:1, 28-33.
- Barsultan, S (2014). Examining the factors affecting the convergence of ethnicities with an emphasis on the security structure of Iran, *Marz Faculty of Science and Technology Quarterly*, 6th year, number 2, 153-173.
- Beheshti, S; Haqmoradi, M (2016). Meta-analysis of studies related to the relationship between ethnic identity and national identity in Iran with an emphasis on the role of the media, *Social Issues of Iran*, Year 8, Number 5-27.
- Birbir, J. K., Wilkenfeld, J., Fearon, J. D., Laitin, D. D., Gurr, T. R., Brancati, D., ... Hultquist, A. S. (2015). Socially relevant ethnic groups, ethnic structure, and AMAR. *Journal of Peace Research*, 52(1), 110–115.
- Balcells, L. (2011). Continuation of politics by two means: Direct and indirect violence in civil war. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 55(3), 397–422.
- Darvishi, F; Emami, A (2009); Ethnicities and national solidarity in the Islamic Republic of Iran, *Islamic Revolution Studies*, 7th year, number 20, 117-144
- Hijazi, S; Bahrami, V (2020). The application of Lakla and Moff's discourse analysis method in the field of political science, *Scientific-Research Quarterly of Human Sciences Methodology*, Year 25, Number 99, pages 1-18.
- Haqpanah, J (2018). Identity, ethnicity and foreign policy in the Middle East, *Policy Quarterly, Faculty of Law and Political Science Journal*, Volume 41, Number 1, 81-95.
- John F. McCauley (2017) Disaggregating Identities to Study Ethnic Conflict, *Ethnopolitics*, 16:1, 12-20
- John F. McCauley, (2017); Disaggregating Identities to Study Ethnic Conflict, *Formerly Global Review of Ethnopolitics Volume 16*, 2017 - Issue 1,
- Khalili, R; MehrbanIncheBrun, H (2020). Identity politics, education and national security in Iran, *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, twenty-fourth year, number four, 33-64.
- Karwani, A; GhafariNasab, E (2017). National identity and ethnic identity in the life world of Baloch students, *Social Issues of Iran*, Year 10, Number 2, pages 217-241.
- Lars-Erik C& Julian W (2017) Inequalities Between Ethnic Groups, Conflict, and Political Organizations, *Ethnopolitics*, 16:1, 21-27,
- Moaidfar, S; Rezaei, A (2016); An analysis of the state of ethnic identity in Iranian society; A case study of Tehran University students, *Political Studies*, Volume 9, Number 33, Pages 19-48
- Melabi, M (2007); Political geography of Iranian peoples; *Zamane*, number 70, pages 16-24
- Mahmoudi, A; Rahmani, J; Rouzbeh, A (2014), Arab tribes of Khuzestan in the Iran-Iraq war, *Border Science and Technology*, 6th year, number 4, pages 101-124
- Mahmoudi, A; Rahmani J; Rozbeh, A (2014). The role of Khuzestan Arab peoples in the Iran-Iraq war, *Border Science and Technology*, 6th year, No. 4, pages 101-124.

- Masouniya, H; MehrabiKoshki, R; Kayani, N (2013). Studying the relationship between national and ethnic identity: (a case study of Tehran University students), *Socio-Cultural Development Studies Quarterly, third period, number-2* ,page 139-165.
- Masounia, H; Rahebarqazi, M; Qurbani, M (2018). The influence of national and ethnic identity on political attitudes (a case study of the citizens of Khoi city), *biannual scientific journal of political knowledge, 15th year, number 2 (30 series)*, pages 515-538 .
- Mansour Nejad, M (2004). Examining the origins of the convergence between the people of the book and other Iranians in the holy defense, *National Studies Quarterly, Vol. 11, 6th year*, pages 93-101.
- Mehri, K; Yazdakhati, B; Panahi, M (2013); Meta-analysis of the conducted researches regarding the role of effective factors on the mobilization of ethnic groups, *Strategy, 23rd year, number 72*, pages 93-114
- Nabavi A (2019); Student life, politics and identity, Tehran: Institute of Cultural and Social Studies.
- Oppenheim, A. N. (2016); Questionnaire design and measuring attitudes, Translated by Marzieh Karimnia, Mashhad, Astan Quds Razavi.
- Parki, A; NastiZaei, N (2020). Examining the national and modern identity of Saravan city students, *National Studies Quarterly, 87, 22nd year, number 3*, 91-107.
- Rekabian, R; Babapour, M; Babaei, M (2018). Investigating the relationship between identity and social political developments in contemporary Iran with an emphasis on the Islamic Revolution, *Islamic Revolution Research Quarterly, Iranian Islamic Revolution Scientific Association, Year 8, No. 31*, 51-80 .
- Ramzanzade Abdullah (1997); The trend of ethnic crisis in Iran, *strategic studies, number 1, magazine 91*.
- Shahriari, H (2014); Iran-Iraq war from the point of view of discourse analysis, *"Theoretical Politics Research", 15th issue*, pages 193-222.
- SediqOrei, G; Asgharpourmasouleh, A (2018). Studying the ideological structure of the Islamic revolution in the first decade of the revolution by analyzing the content of the wills of the martyrs of the Iran and Iraq war, *Journal of Social Sciences, Faculty of Literature and Humanities, Ferdowsi University of Mashhad, year 16*, pages 26- 1.
- Sardarnia, K; Safizadeh, R (2020). Politicization of Baloch ethnic identity in Iran from the perspective of institutionalist theories, *unbalanced development and relative deprivation, Fars Scientific Quarterly of Police Science, 7th year, 26th issue*, pages 122- 93.
- Sarmad, Z, Hijazi, E and Abbas B (2013). Research methods in behavioral sciences, Aware Publications
- Ted Robert G; (2017); Observations on the Study of Ethnic Conflict, Formerly Global Review of Ethnopolitics Volume 16, 2017 - Issue 1: The study of ethnopolitical violence: state of the field and new directions for research | *Published online: 25 Nov 2016*, Pages 34-40
- Yousefi, A; Asgharpour M (2008); Ethno-orientation and its effect on inter-ethnic relations in Iran, *Social Sciences, Volume 1, Number 1*, pages 125-14.