

Study of Youth Religiosity and its Effect on Their Electoral Behaviors

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Received 20 June 2021 ||| Accepted 7 January 2022

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 and participation in elections. 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. Linear regression and logistics 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 and participation in elections. So that, the youth who had a high average religiosity tended to the fundamentalists and participate more in elections. Whereas, young people with low average religiosity tended to be reformists and were less likely to participate in elections 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: religiosity, electoral behavior, voting tendency, participation in elections, cultural wars.

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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 (Rafipoor, 2013; Abrahamian, 2013; Azad armaki, 2001; Bashirieh, 2012).

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.

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In this study, we apply Hunter (1991; 2006) and Wuthnow's (1988) theory - as one of the most important contemporary theories in the field of religiosity and electoral behavior- to theorize the relationship between religiosity and electoral behaviors. According to this theory, the effect of religiosity on electoral behavior is mediated by cultural variables, in the sense that cultural tendencies translate religiosity into electoral behavior. According to this theory, religiosity affects the electoral preferences through affecting the cultural tendencies and positions (Layman, 2001: 68).

In the present study, the effect of religiosity on the electoral behavior in terms of voting tendency and participation in elections is examined. Voting behavior is perhaps the most limited and oldest meaning of political behavior, and it is the most common use of the term in sociology and psychology. Based on various definitions of electoral behavior, it can be considered as "exercising the political preferences of the voters, the first step of which is participation or non-participation in the elections" (Lipist, 2004: 433). Therefore, we consider two types of electoral behavior namely: "participation" and "voting tendency" (voting preferences).

The results of many researches introduce religion and religiosity as one of the important factors shaping the electoral behavior. During the 1960s and 1970s, no subject in empirical studies of religion has received as much attention as the conceptual characteristics of religiosity. Although the concept of religiosity has been used and defined in social science research since the 1960, the analytical framework needed to define the concept operationally was developed during the 1960s (Serajzadeh and Tavakoli, 2001:160).

Religions present their specific norms and values to their followers through rituals or in the form of a specific worldview, which in turn affects various areas of human life, including political area. It also should be noted that the political claims of different religions are not equal. The importance of religion in political behavior was established in the combined model of thirty-two countries used in the (CSES)¹ and thirty-seven presidential and parliamentary elections are compared from the mid to late 1990s. The results of the study showed that religion is still a stronger and more consistent indicator in relation to electoral preference than any of the other indicators of socio-economic status (Inglehart and Nouris, 1968: 289-290).

Among all the elections studies in the comparative study of electoral systems, Catholic voters significantly voted to religious parties than Protestants, and non-believers have voted to non-religious parties more than any other social group. Religiosity, especially in occupied Palestine, the Netherlands and Belgium associated with electoral preference. The same was true of former communist countries such as Hungary and Czech Republic (Inglehart and Nouris, 1968: 289-290).

In Iranian society, electoral behavior may be influenced more than anything else by the religious orientations of individuals, as the studies after the Islamic revolution has shown the turnout in six elections of Islamic republic presidency (1979-1993) has been more in provinces with higher average of religiosity (Razi, 2001: 1). The present study's motivation has emerged from the contradictory theoretical views and empirical studies on the relationship between religiosity and electoral behavior (Taleban and Mirzaee, 2010: 35). The views of some British political analysts including Alford (1967, 1973), Pals (1967), Butler and Stokes (1969), and the results of some researches (Kim, 2006) have argued that religion has little or no effect on electoral behavior. According to this group of scholars, the main and determining factor of electoral behavior is social class. In contrast, the results of many studies introduce religion and religiosity as the main factors shaping electoral behavior.

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 and participation in elections.* The theoretical lens of this study is the theory of cultural wars by Hunter and Wuthno (1991-2006). Applying this theoretical lens we investigate the relationship between religiosity and voting tendency and participation in elections.

Review of Literature

Domestic Studies

- Firooz Jaeian and Jahangiri in their research entitled "sociological analysis of students' political participation, the case of study, and students of Tehran University" have tried to

¹ comparative study of electoral system

analyze the sociology of students' political participation with an emphasis on political sociology. Researchers have considered 21 variables as factors affecting political participation and the variable of religious commitment was one of the related factors that have had a significant relationship with political participation (Firooz Jaeian and Jahangiri, 2008: 83-109).

- A study conducted by Imam Juma et al. entitled the relationship between religiosity and electoral behavior shows that people with religious orientation are at a high level in terms of political participation and electoral behavior, and religious has a significant impact on the political action of these people and those who had religious beliefs and interests. In all dimensions of electoral behavior, the ritual dimension is a more important predictor and has more relationship with the components of electoral behavior, although the emotional dimension also has a positive relationship with all dimensions of electoral behavior. High scores of the ritual scale of religiosity are a reflection of an individual's attempt to look positive socially. These individuals appear to be prone to developing more responsible social attitudes for political participation. In fact, it can be said that the ritual dimensions of religiosity act as a bridge between awareness and participation. It can be claimed that the religious dimension has come into existence when religiosity is shown from the mental and potential to the practical dimensions of religiosity in form of participatory behaviors. Given the religious conditions of the existing political system in Iran, those who pay more attention to the religious dimensions of religion participate more in elections and other political activities to maintain the political system which is religious, and the results of the research confirm this argument (Imam Jume et al., 2013: 39).
- 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).
- Hashemi et al. (2009), in their study entitled "Study of social and psychological factors affecting the political participation of people in Tehran" have shown that among the factors affecting political participation, there is a significant relationship between religious flexibility and degree of religiosity with the political participation of individuals. Thus, the more religious people are the more political participation they will have. (Hashemi et al., 2009; p. 214).
- 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 Mr. 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).
- 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).
- Razi (2001) in his master's thesis entitled a comparative study of individuals' participation in the sixth presidential election after the victory of Islamic Revolution in Iran from 1979 to 1993, stated that people's participation in the sixth presidential election after the victory of

Islamic Revolution (1979 - 1993) were high in the provinces where the number of Shiites is more than the followers of other religions (e.g. Sunni, Christianity, etc.) (Razi, 2001: 58-72).

- 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).

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).
- Guth et al. (2002) in a study entitled "the relationship between religion and political participation among religious groups in the United States" concluded that the degree of political participation among religious groups is significantly different. Jewish participants are more involved in political activities than Christians. Among Christians, the moderate and modernist groups have more political participation than secular and non-religious groups. Also, Catholic, modernist, and moderate sects are more in political isolation than other sects. The results of this study indicate a positive relationship between religious beliefs and political participation. (Guth, 2002: 124-132).
- 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: 3-131).
- Jamna and Curelaru (2009) concluded in their study that there is a significant relationship between political participation and religious participation and religious activities of individuals. In a study entitled "students' values and political participation" (2009) after the November 2008 elections in Romania, they found that students have a high level of religious participation and that political participation is much higher among those who are interested in religious activities than those are not. Researchers consider religion to be very important factor in social theory, which causes activities to be transferred from individual to public level and to social participation. The findings also show that the church plays an important role in the process of political participation (Jamna & Curelaru, 2009: 171).
- Secret et al. (1990) in a study entitled "the effect of religiosity on political participation and membership in voluntary associations between Whites and Blacks" and macaluso and wannat in their research called electoral participation and religiosity, have concluded that there is a strong and positive relationship between the degree of religiosity (the degree of going to church) and the level of voting participation, so that people with high in religiosity participate in elections more than people with low in religiosity(Secret et al, 1990: 87-102)
- 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).
- Williams (1999) in his doctoral dissertation, religious experience and political participation of Black Americans in an urban structure, has concluded that there is a positive relationship between the degree of church attendance as a component of religiosity and the degree of participation in election(Williams, 199: 124-136).

Theoretical framework

Among the various theories that examine the relationship between religiosity and electoral behavior in a variety of contexts such as ethnic-religious contexts, social affiliation, social capital, group attachment, etc. the present study has based its research framework on the theory of cultural wars. The reason for choosing the theory of cultural wars is its high explanatory power on the one hand and its closeness to the reality of Iranian society on the other hand.

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).

Hunter and Wuthnow; argue that in the context of the American society, the current cultural conflict has reshaped existing party policies; it has turned the Republican Party into a coalition of cultural and religious traditionalists of all religious traditions, and has turned the Democratic Party into the home of moral and religious liberals (Ibid, 12) as far as Green says "Republicans are the embodiment of the believers and Democrats are the embodiment of the atheists" (Green, 2007: 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 electoral behaviors 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: 54, 66-67). Empirical evidence also confirms the relationship between the degree of religiosity and voting tendencies. The United States and Britain are clear examples of this kind of electoral behaviors. In the United States, those who are more religious—for the reasons stated—voted for the Republican Conservative Party and those who are less religious voted for the Liberal Democratic Party (Layman, 2001: 6). In Britain, as in the United States, those with traditional moral perspectives on cultural issues mentioned earlier support conservative parties; while those who are more flexible in such traditional-ethical issues support the Labor Party (Kotler & Berkowitz, 2001: 553). More comprehensive than this evidence is the research of Engelhart and Norris (2008) mentioned earlier. Recalling the results of this research due to its breadth and novelty and also because of its high generalizability can clarify this relationship. Their findings of a comparative study of 37 parliamentary and presidential elections in 32 agricultural,

industrial and post-industrial countries in the 1990s show that people with more or less religiosity vote for right and left parties, respectively (Engelhart, and Norris, 2008: 254-255).

The problem of study is the relationship between the amount of religiosity and electoral behavior at the level of voting tendencies; because the sample of this research is within a religious tradition (Islam and the Shiite majority) and this shows the closeness of the theory to reality, and on the other hand, it has a high explanatory power in explaining the desired parts of the problem based on the concepts in the theory.

By reducing the mentioned cultural differences (homosexuality, pornography, etc.) between parties which is derived from the culture of Western countries leads to differences in the level of hijab and clothes of women in society, the relationship between girls and boys, filtering sites, etc. that prepares us to propose this hypothesis: those who have more religiosity have more closed moral attitudes towards cultural -moral issues such as hijab, girl-boy relationship, sites filtering, etc., and therefore they vote for the fundamentalist faction or the mentioned moral perspectives on cultural-moral issues. On the other hand, those who have less religiosity have a free view of such issues and vote for reformist faction, which acts more freely in such issues (Taleban and Mirzaei, 2011: 142).

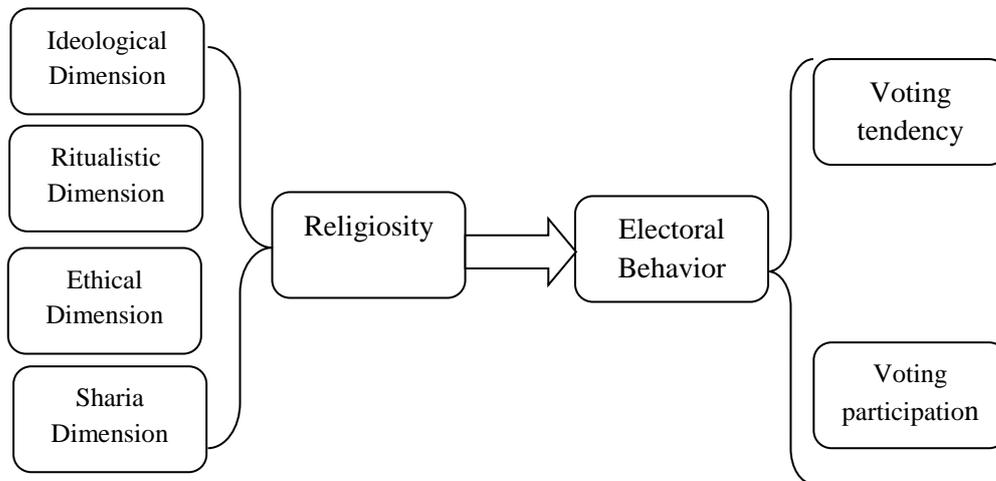
The hypothesis of relationship between religiosity and participation in elections is also based on previous research. However, the results of many studies, some of which have been reviewed in the background of the research, show the relationship between the type of religiosity and participation in elections. It should be noted that the explanatory claim of all of them is the positive effect of religiosity on the level of participation in elections.

The argument of the present study is that the type of political regime in the statistical population should not be neglected. In countries like Iran, where the political regime is religious and religious people are in charge (apart from religious or non-religious or secular candidates and parties), the religious and religiosity of the participants is one of the main factors in participating in elections for religious believers. Because participation in elections is not about supporting the parties, but essentially about supporting the continuation of the ruling political regime, which is run by religious people or believers. In Iran, too, because the political regime is "religious", it can be hypothesized that the greater the degree of religiosity, the greater the level of electoral participation.

Hypothesis 1: 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.

Hypothesis 2: those who have more religiosity, have more participation in the election. On the other hand, those who have less religiosity, have less participation in the election.

Figure 1. The conceptual model of research



Method

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.

Operational Definition of research variables

- 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). Among the models of religiosity to define religiosity, Shojaei Zand's model as well as Glock and Stark's model (1965) (which is widely applied western modern in academic studies) were used in the present study because it is a native model, it has already been used in a previous academic study and it is valid and well known. According to Shojaei 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.

- Ideological Dimension:

Contains beliefs that the followers of that religion are expected to believe in (Sirajzadeh, 1384: 164). In this study, the three beliefs of religion sufficiency, the intercession of the Imams and life after death (resurrection) and auditing in the other world are put under question.

- Ritualistic Dimension:

Refers to all the behaviors and etiquettes that a person performs during worship before his Lord and God (Shojaei Zand, 2005: 59). The Ritualistic dimension in this study includes recitation of the Holy Qur'an, recommended fasting, congregational prayer, Friday prayer, i'tikaaf and supplication on revival nights.

- Ethical Dimension:

Is also a religious aspect related to the benevolence and goodness as well as having a pleasant interaction with others (Shojaei Zand, 2005, 59). Considered ethics in this study are not lying, not gossiping, forgiving and forgiveness.

- Sharia dimension:

Is a set of duties that God has made forbidden, abominable (makrooh), obligatory, recommended and lawful (halal), and the Muslims are obliged to observe them. In this study, they include religious appearance, and the relationship with aliens (non-mahram), imitation, marriage, interactions, participating in mourning ceremonies and rejoicing as well as enjoining the good and forbidding the evil.

Method of measuring research variables

- 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).

- 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 at two levels or with two indicators of "voting participation" and "voting attitude", 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.

- Voting Participation

Voting Participation means an individual's participation in an election by voting. Considering that one of the main objectives of this study is to examine the relationship between the level of religiosity and the degree of voting participation. Therefore, the type of election or the specific election period does not matter; rather, the researcher seeks to understand the general electoral behavior of the individual in different electoral periods. Although it does not matter in what period and what kind of election this behavior has occurred, in order for the voting participation to be more varied, we tested each election (presidential, parliamentary, city council, and elites) separately. Therefore, in the operational definition of the voting participation, we use four items in the form of Likert scale. For example, the wording of the statement would be "do you participate in presidential election?" Answers of "always" and "most often" will show high participation; and responses of "sometimes" will indicate moderate participation; and "rarely" and "not at all" will show low participation.

- 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.

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 (84), from other models such as Khodayari Fard's religiosity model (88), Taliban's (88), 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 and voting participation is .94 and .93, respectively which indicates the high reliability of the items. The internal reliability of the variables was shown in table 1 separately. In this study, SPSS software were used to analyze data. At the descriptive level, the mean, one-dimensional and two-

dimensional tables of relative and absolute frequency distributions were used. According to the level of measurement of variables, independent T- test, linear regression and logistic regression were used to test the hypotheses and measure the relationships between variables.

Table 1. Scales and items

Religiosity dimensions	Items	Factor Loading	Error Rate
Ideological dimension	The Quran is an eternal message and is sufficient for human in all ages.	0/85	0/28
	I believe in the intercession of the Imams for the Shiites.	0/72	0/48
	I believe in the other world and the care of deeds and heaven and hell.	0/90	0/18
Ritualistic dimension	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
	How often do you attend in Jume prayers?	0/37	0/86
	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
Ethical dimension	How many people participate in the Ehya nights during Ramadan?	0/53	0/72
	I don't lie under any circumstances.	0/51	0/74
	I avoid hearing others gossip.	0/62	0/64
Sharia dimension	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
	Are you an imitator in recognizing and performing religious duties?	0/44	0/84
	Shaking hands with an alien (non-mahram) is not a problem in my opinion.	0/63	0/61
	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

Data analysis and results

The test of the first hypothesis

Hypothesis 1: *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.*

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.

Based on the output status, R2 is equal to .79. That is, .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 = .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 .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.

The test of second hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2: *those who have more religiosity, have more participation in the election. On the other hand, those who have less religiosity, have less participation in the election.*

Based on table 6, R equal to .68, means that the correlation coefficient between the independent variable (degree of religiosity) and the dependent variable (degree of participation) is equal to 0.68, and the beta coefficient mark indicates that this relationship is positive. A coefficient of determination of R2 equal to 0.38 means that the independent variable (degree of religiosity) 0.38 explains the variance of the dependent variable (degree of participation).

According to table 6, the correlation between the independent variable (degree of religiosity) and the dependent variable (degree of participation) is quite significant (sig = .00).

In the above equation, if the effect of the independent variable (degree of religiosity) is controlled, the width of the origin is equal to 2.73. In conditions that the degree of religiosity of the participants increases by 1 point, 0/18 will be added to their electoral participation score. The above linear regression equation indicates that the standard effect of religiosity on electoral participation is 0.68. Since there is an independent variable, the beta value is equal to the correlation coefficient. Thus, the second hypothesis is confirmed.

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

Variable	Reliability	Mean	Standard Deviation
Ideological Dimension	0/95	4/675	0/5682
Ritualistic Dimension	0/94	3/667	0/7756
Ethical Dimension	0/93	4/122	0/6154
Sharia Dimension	0/94	4/267	0/6852
The total score of religiosity	0/94	4/182	0/5465
Voting Participation	0/94	4/332	0/9465

Classification Table Table 3.

Observed		Predicted		Correct Percentage
		Voting Tendency		
		Reformist	Fundamentalist	
Voting Tendency	Reformist	148	22	87/1
	Fundamentalist	14	156	91/8
Overall Percentage				89/4

Table 4

Interaction		-2Log likelihood	Coefficients	
			constant	B
Step 1	1	232/051	-7/882	0/088
	2	194/072	-11/202	0/158
	3	178/591	-17/885	0/206
	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

Table 5 .Logistic Regression Analysis (Test the first hypothesis)

df	(sig)	(Constant)		(B)	NagelkerkeR ²	-2Log likelihood	Model chi-square	Exp (B)
1	0/000	-021/321		0/254	0/788	172/342	282/342	1/288
		Waled Test)	72/996	74/476				

Table 6 . Regression Analysis (Test the second hypothesis)

Constant		(B)	(B)	R ²	(R)
2/732		0/172	0/684	0/382	0/684
(Sig)	0/006	0/000			

Discussion

Theoretical implications of the research

The present study which has based its theoretical framework on the theory of cultural wars of Hunter (1991; 2006) and Wuthnow (1988) indicates the proof of this theory in the statistical community. Thus, the degree of religiosity of individuals by creating meanings on cultural structures and tendencies has a significant impact on their electoral behaviors in two concepts of voting tendency and election participation. According to the results of this study, which is in complete harmony with the theory of cultural wars, those who have stronger religious beliefs and practices have a more traditional and closed view of some cultural views, so they vote for parties that agree with them on these issues and behave conservatively. In contrast, those with weaker religiosity have a more open and modern view of these cultural issues and vote for parties that act in such non-traditional or freer ways.

However, the cultural differences mentioned in the theory of cultural wars, thematically, cannot be generalized to the cultural differences between the fundamentalist and reformist factions in Iranian society. But other cultural differences with issues such as the degree of hijab and women's clothing, the relationship between boys and girls, etc., are quite obvious between these two factions. Therefore, by reducing the differences mentioned in the theory of cultural wars to the mentioned differences between the two fundamentalist and reformist factions in Iran, it can be said that more religious people have a more closed and traditional view of cultural issues such as the degree of hijab, the relationship between girls and boys, etc., and in contrast, people with low religiosity have a more open and free view of these cultural issues. Finally, those with a higher average of religiosity vote for fundamentalist faction, and those with a lower average of religiosity vote for the reformist faction. The results of the research have confirmed this argument. Regarding the effect of religiosity on political participation, the theoretical argument of the research has been that due to the religious nature of the political regime in Iran, those who have more religiosity, participate more to maintain the political system. The results of the research have confirmed this argument, too.

Practical implications of research

According to the results of the present study, religiosity is one of the most important identity features of young people and the claims based on the decline of religiosity in them lack research documentary

bases. As the findings show the average of the general religiosity of the young people is high and we see a relatively lower average than other dimensions of religiosity only in the dimension of worship or rituals of religiosity. The multiplicity of religiosity among young people is another noteworthy case based on the findings of this study. This multiplicity in the style of religiosity, despite the religious replication policies by religious institutions in Iran is significant and the factors affecting it deserve to be followed in future research. Being active and productive in religious identity is another feature that affects the religiosity of young people. Thus, the religiosity of young people has a significant role in creating their cultural and political structures and tendencies, and specifically, the starting point of cultural differences focused on political differences of young people goes back to differences in the degree of their religiosity. The young people who have high religious beliefs and strong religious behavior have a closed and conservative attitude towards cultural issues such as hijab, women's makeup, relationships with the opposite sex, etc., and are politically inclined towards the fundamentalist faction. In contrast, the young people with low religious beliefs and poor religious behavior have a more open and liberal view of these cultural issues and are politically inclined to the reformist faction. Therefore, the religiosity among young people not only has a high average but also has cultural and especially political implications. So that, the electoral behavior of Iranian's young people are significantly affected by their degree of religiosity. The results of the present study are an example of the prominent role of religiosity in the field of Iranian political activism. Electoral behavior in Iran, which is the most general and important form of political activism, is significantly inspired by the religiosity of activists according to the results of the research.

Limitations and future research directions

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 form of two concepts of voting tendency and electoral participation 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 electoral behavior in various fields and contexts such as the context of generational, class, ethnic differences, etc. should be measured.

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