

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. The most comprehensive is Sanasarian 2006.
2. Malesevic 2011a: 68.
3. Brubaker 2004: 11.
4. *Ibid.*: 11, 65.
5. Malesevic 2006a: 27.
6. Malesevic 2011a: 78.
7. Brubaker 2004: 28.
8. *Ibid.*: 38.
9. *Ibid.*: 18.
10. Anderson 1983, Gellner 1983, Hobsbawm 1991.
11. Billig 1995.
12. Calhoun 1997: 3, 8.
13. *Ibid.*: 99.
14. Brubaker 2004: 32–3. Hence the use of the terms “ethnic group,” “communities” and “collectivities” throughout this book is necessary since these are the lay and academic idioms and understandings in focus. Indeed, even those sympathetic to Brubaker’s deconstruction of identity have noticed that Brubaker himself (indeed, perhaps any scholar) cannot completely abandon groupist language—if nothing then for stylistic reasons. See, for example, Malesevic 2006b.
15. Brubaker 2004: 29.
16. *Ibid.*: 32.
17. *Ibid.*: 44.
18. Malesevic 2006a: 4.
19. Brubaker 2004: 11–12.
20. Malesevic 2006a: 5.
21. I have borrowed this term from Richard Jenkins (1997: 87), who classifies ethnicism as an ideology based on identification with ethnicity, while nationalism is based either on ethnicity/nationality or on ethnicity/“race.”
22. Hushmand & Kuhshekaf 2007: 212–3.
23. PhD project funded by the Danish Research Council, 2006–10.
24. Hegland 2004; see also Tapper 2009 for a personal and historical perspective on doing research on Iran.
25. Abdi 2001: 51, Ashraf 2006: 529.

CHAPTER 1

1. This term is borrowed from Hirschfeld 1996 via Brubaker 2004: x.
2. Boroujerdi 1998.

3. Tapper 1998: 397.
4. Brubaker 2004: 41.
5. *Ibid.*: 12.
6. A similar distinction is in the anthropological division between *emic* and *etic* views: the former being how people label themselves and others, the latter how scholars, looking from the outside or “above,” label different people. Social anthropologist Richard Jenkins operates with “nominal” and “virtual” to distinguish the act of external categorization from the internal experience of belonging. Jenkins 2008: 83.
7. Tapper 2008a: 100.
8. *Ibid.*: 106.
9. Tapper 1998: 395.
10. Tapper 1988: 27.
11. CIA 2011. Accessed April 28, 2011. Based on July 2011 estimate.
12. CIA 2007. In 2012, the CIA changed the estimates to something closer to that of the Library of Congress, but added that this was based on its 2008 estimate.
13. Library of Congress 2008.
14. Estimated, respectively, at around 150,000–200,000 and 16,000–18,000 in 1992. See Sanasarian 2000: 36, Table 2.
15. Estimated at perhaps around 20,000–30,000.
16. Estimates ranging, respectively, from 0 to 350,000; around 50,000; and 5–10,000. See, for example, Sanasarian 2000 and Hassan 2008.
17. Since official statistical reports lump together Shiites and Sunnis in one category of “Muslim,” it is impossible to verify the estimates presented by Sunni activists.
18. CIA 2011, ISC 2006.
19. Library of Congress 2008.
20. Compare, for example, Amirahmadi 1987 with Amanolahi 2005. For reference tool examples: Stokes 2009 and Shoup 2011. Ramezanzadeh (1996: 129) includes Gilakis, Bakhtiyaris and Lors together with “Persians”—which makes his category of “Persians” a clear majority (65 percent of the population).
21. CIA 2007.
22. See Doerfer 1989. The “1% Turkish,” referring to the language spoken in Turkey, points to an error or misunderstanding in the CIA report: even if Turkish was spoken in Iran, then why not include it in the umbrella category of “Turkic”?
23. Paul 2008.
24. One scholar who has noted this problem with using “ethnic,” “linguistic” and “religious” interchangeably without highlighting the crucial differences is Hamid Ahmadi (see Chapter 4). Ahmadi (1995: 37) complains that some scholars seem only to apply the term “ethnic” to communities that have framed political demands (such as for autonomy) in connection to their religious self-identification.
25. For statistical information on nomad tribes, see ISC 2008.
26. Conversely, some argue that *Iranian Turks* is the correct ethnonym for all Turkic speakers in Iran, whereas Shahsevan, Afshar, Qashqa’i and so on are tribal sublabels.
27. Tapper 1988: 29.
28. See, for example, Eriksen 2002: 8.
29. Ittig (1989) thus describes “gypsies” in Iran (the Dom people) as those who “make sieves, carding combs, spindles, etc.”
30. Kazemi 1988: 211–2.
31. Amanolahi 2005: 38–9.
32. An example of this is in the work of US-based scholar and minority activist ‘Ali Al-Taie (see Chapter 5). Al-Taie’s key argument is that since the concept of “race” has been

- academically discredited and since Iranians are mixed, claims to ethnic or racial purity are invalid. Nonetheless, Al-Taie himself defaults to the concept of “race” when he divides Iranians into “White,” “Yellow” and “Red” races (1999: 166–7).
33. See, for example, Doane 1997, Gladney 1998, Kaufman 2004.
 34. The eminent anthropologist Lois Beck (2009: 159) has criticized the failure of most non-anthropologist scholars of Iranian studies to recognize the difference between “Iranian” and “Persian.”
 35. Yar-Shater 1993: 141.
 36. Hanaway 1993: 147–8.
 37. Tapper 2008a: 102.
 38. For example, see Amirkhosravi 2006: 9; Ashraf 2004: 160; for an example in English, see Amanolahi 2005: 37.
 39. Himself an Azeri, Amirkhosravi is a former Tudeh Communist party member; while currently living outside Iran, he nonetheless has published articles inside Iran.
 40. Amirkhosravi 2006: 14.
 41. Oberling 1999.
 42. Hushmand 2007: 3
 43. *Ibid.*: 4
 44. Rezakhani 2003.
 45. Bosworth 1984, Perry 2009.
 46. Tapper 2008b: 74–5.
 47. Maqsudi 2003: 77.
 48. *Ibid.*: 129.
 49. See, for example, Bonakdar 2009.
 50. Rezakhani 2003.
 51. Amanollahi 2005: 37.
 52. Amanolahi 2005: 39.
 53. Hushmand & Kuhshkaf 2007: 219–20. For other examples of similar arguments, see Ahmadi 1995: Chapter 1; Kaviyanirad 2007: 101. See Chapter 4 in this book for an elaborate discussion of this aspect.
 54. Hushmand 2007: 5.
 55. Doane 1997.
 56. “The Idea of Iran” is borrowed from a book series of that name, edited by Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis and Sarah Stewart.
 57. Key English-language works on modern Azeri history includes Atabaki 2000, Clark 2006, Nissman 1987 and Swietochowski 1995.
 58. Throughout this book, “Azerbaijan” refers to this historical region in Iran; “the Republic of Azerbaijan” refers to the independent post-Soviet republic.
 59. Amanolahi 2005: 37.
 60. For example Shaffer 2002: 222–3, Riaux 2008: 46.
 61. Bosworth 1986.
 62. See, for example, Entessar 1994, Izadi 2004 and Reza 2006. It was in fact anti-Russian Azeri separatists who adopted the name Azerbaijan for Arran, using the name “Caucasian Azerbaijan” in their foreign correspondence.
 63. A seminal work on the Shahsevan is Tapper 1997.
 64. For an example of the view that Azeri ethno-nationalism in Iran was the product of Soviet policies, see Entessar 1993.
 65. See Atabaki 2000 and L’Estrange 2009; for a critique of Pishevari, see Morshedizad 2001.

66. Compare, in order, CIA 2011, Price 2005, Yildiz & Taysi 2007. Again, the numbers—not the percentage estimates—are based on the latest total figure for Iran's population (77.8 million).
67. Kurdistan in this book refers to the area inhabited by Kurds that stretches across approximately six provinces, and Kurdistan Province to the administrative unit.
68. Madih 2007: 11.
69. Key works on modern Kurdish ethno-nationalism in Iran include Entessar 1992, Koohi-Kamali 2003, Natali 2005 and Vali 2011.
70. McDowall 2004: 9.
71. Koohi-Kamali 2003.
72. See McDowell 2004, Van Bruinessen 1991.
73. McDowell 2004: 15.
74. Paul 2008.
75. Compare, in order, Yildiz & Taysi 2007, Keddie 1995, Salehi-Amiri 2006 and Price 2005.
76. For example, Limbert 1968; rejected by other scholars (e.g., Asatrian 2009).
77. Van Bruinessen 1983.
78. McDowell 2004: 245.
79. Compare, in order, Library of Congress 2008, CIA 2007, Qayem 2005: 65 and Bani-Torof 2005.
80. Qayem 2005: 63, 65.
81. Bani-Torof 2005.
82. Among the few studies of modern Khuzestani Arabs are Gharayaq-Zandi 2008 and Purkazem 2006.
83. For example, BAFS 2007.
84. For example, Chalabi & Janadele 2007.
85. *Ibid.*: 85–6.
86. Qayem 2005: 67–8.
87. For example, Maqсуди 2003: 71.
88. For example, Gharayaq-Zandi 2008, Qayem 2005.
89. On early Arab history in Iran, see Bosworth 1986; Daniel 1986; Oberling & Hourcade 1986.
90. For example, Gharayaq-Zandi 2008: 75.
91. Soucek 1984.
92. See Ansari 1974 and Strunk 1977.
93. Mann 2010.
94. Elling Forthcoming.
95. For example, CIA 2011, Library of Congress 2008.
96. In this book, “Baluchistan” will, unless otherwise specified, refer to the Baluch-inhabited parts of southeastern Iran.
97. *Sistan va Baluchestan* 2009.
98. Ahmadi 2004c. This is disputed, see SunniOnline 2010.
99. Spooner 1988, Fabietti 2009.
100. Elfenbein 1988.
101. Spooner 1988.
102. Hosseinbor 1984.
103. *Ibid.*: 83.
104. Hosseinbor 1984: 136–7.
105. Amanolahi 2005: 37.

CHAPTER 2

1. Brubaker 2004: 12.
2. Key works on the Kurdish uprising include MacDowell 2005, Koochi-Kamali 2003. In addition, I draw on some primary sources, including National Archives: FO973/40, FCO 8/3394, FCO 8/3647; Moradbeigi 2004; and Pasdaran n.d.
3. Ahmadzadeh & Stansfield 2010: 18.
4. Entessar 2010: 41.
5. MacDowell 2005: 276.
6. See, for example, Razmi 2000.
7. Hosseinbor 1984: 156. See also National Archives: FCO 8/3574.
8. *Hezb-e ettehad-e moslemin*.
9. Hosseinbor 1984: 159.
10. For these discussions, refer to Salehi-Amiri 2006: 342–6.
11. *Jebhe-ye vahdat-e baluch*. Ahmadi 1999: 261.
12. National Archives: FCO 8/3575;
13. Including the Ba'hist Arabistan Independence Front, *Jebhat-ot-tahrir 'arabestān*.
14. *Kānun-e farhang-e khalq-e 'arab*.
15. Nabavi 2004: 504–5.
16. Haghayeghi 1990: 37.
17. For example, Price 2005: 305–6
18. For an elaborate discussion, see Sanasarian 2006.
19. A possible exception is Kurdistan Province. However, since the state has never carried out a census on religious parameters, it is hard to see how Article 12 could ever be institutionalized on a provincial level.
20. Salehi-Amiri 2006: 346.
21. See, for example, Mojab & Hassanpour 1995, HRW 1997, Tohidi 2009.
22. Mehran 2002.
23. SCCR 2010. For a discussion, see Fazeli 2006: 167–9.
24. Speech by Ayatollah Taleqani as quoted in Salehi-Amiri 2006: 349–50.
25. Proceedings of the constitutional drafting process as quoted in Salehi-Amiri 2006: 348–9.
26. Farzanfar 1992: 412.
27. See Aghajanian 1983, Haghayeghi 1990, Kazemi 1988.
28. Amirahmadi 1987, Amirahmadi & Atash 1987, Amirahmadi 1989.
29. Farzanfar 1992: 436.
30. HRW 1997.
31. Haghayehi 1990: 44–5.
32. See, for example, Amirahmadiyan 2005.
33. Sultan-Qurraie 2008: 64.
34. Hushmand & Kuhshakaf 2004: 462–4.
35. Amirahmadi 1987: 105.
36. Amirahmadiyan 2005: 168, 170.
37. Salehi-Amiri 2006: 239.
38. Harris Forthcoming.
39. *Ibid.*: 78–80.
40. Changiz Pahlavan quoted in Morshedizad 2001: 241; Salehi-Amiri 2006: 386.
41. Bani-Torof 2005.
42. 'Abbasi-Shavazi & Sadeqi 2005.
43. Yusefi 2005: 204. Note that Arabs were not included in this study.

44. Chehabi 1997; see also Kaviyanirad 2007.
45. Chehabi 1997: 248.
46. Via Salehi-Amiri 2006: 423.
47. Maqsudi 2006: 94.
48. Godarzi 2005b.
49. Ibid.: 94.
50. Khamene'i quoted in Izadi 2004: 411.
51. Samii 2000: 129.
52. See, for example, Baztab 2005b, Kayhan 2005a, Mehr 2005d.
53. See Hamid Ahmadi quoted in Azadi 2005 and Seyyed-Sa'idi 2005.
54. See, for example, Pak 2007b, Kaviyan & Hosseini 2008.
55. Gerecht 1997; James Woolsey quoted in Glazov 2006.
56. Peters 2006.
57. Hersh 2006a: 3.
58. For example, *Financial Times* 2006, Hersh 2006b & 2008, Lowther & Freeman 2007, Malbrunot 2012, Oppel 2007, Perry 2012, Ross & Isham 2007.
59. See, for example, Olson 2002, *Washington Times* 2003.
60. Riaux 2008: 47.
61. For sources on post-revolutionary Azeri ethnicism, refer to Atabaki 2005, Brown 2004, and Riaux 2005. For Azeri ethnicist accounts, see Asgharzadeh 2008, Nazmi-Afshar 2005. For a representation broadly criticized for its pro-ethnicist and ahistorical approach, see Shaffer 2002. For nationalist Iranian accounts, refer to chapters 4 and 5.
62. Key figures include Mohammad-'Ali Farzane, Javad Hey'at, Hamid Notqi, Hossein Sadeq, Hossein-Qoli Katebi and Mohammad Zehtabi.
63. *Azerbaijan Khalq Jebhesi*.
64. Bani-Hashemi 2002.
65. Riaux 2005: 52.
66. EurasiaNet 2008.
67. S. Bosnali's PhD dissertation *Patrimoine linguistique et littéraire turcophone de l'Iran (une étude sociolinguistique)*, quoted in Riaux 2005: 57, note 6. Azeris read and write either in a modified Arabo-Persian alphabet or in one of the two Latin-based alphabets used in Turkey and ROA.
68. Eslami 2006: 199.
69. HRW 1997. Chehregani was arrested, held in solitary confinement and prevented from re-running in 2000. After leaving Iran in 2002, Chehregani formed GAMOH (South Azerbaijan's Awakening Movement, *Güney Azerbaycan Milli Oyanis Herekati*), which maintains that Azeris are an oppressed majority in Iran and that the Azeri language is being exterminated. While Chehregani has claimed not to be a separatist, the name of his organization (and some of his statements) suggest otherwise (see GAMOH 2010: 1, and Chehregani quoted in Brown 2002). Due to its underground nature, it is impossible to estimate the number of sympathizers inside Iran. It is also impossible to verify GAMOH's allegations of state repression, systematic harassment and extrajudicial killings of its supporters, or to verify the Iranian state's allegation that GAMOH assassinated a government employee in 2005.
70. Protests were also heard in Parliament, and during a 1993 tour in Azerbaijan, Khamene'i held a rare speech in Azeri, which included symbolic warnings to the Armenian government. There were also tensions between Armenians and Azeris in Iran. Tehran-based Armenian clergy sought to defuse the situation by condemning Armenian aggression in Nagorno-Karabakh. See Chehabi 1997: 246 and 253, note 92; and Riaux 2005: 57, note 9.

71. Olson 2002: 64.
72. During the 2006 protests, neither Ankara nor Baku expressed any official sympathy. On the contrary, president Aliiev actually persecuted some ROA journalists for “divisive and offensive” cartoons of the Iranian Leader, and then deported Chehregani from Baku. See Tohidi 2006: 3.
73. For example, Eftekhari 1999: 39.
74. UNDP 1999.
75. Salehi-Amiri 2006: 241.
76. Samii 2000: 134.
77. UNCHR 2005.
78. On disrespect for the human, civil and cultural rights of Iran’s Kurds, see Ahmadzadeh & Stansfield, Amnesty 2008, Gresh 2009, HRW 1997, IHRDC 2012, Mojab & Hassanpour 1995, Samii 2000, Yildiz & Taysi 2007.
79. These include KDPI’s Paris-based *Tishk*, the PKK-run, Denmark-based *Roj TV* as well as *Komele’s Roj Helat* and PJAK’s *Newroz*, both based in Sweden. See Ahmadzadeh & Stansfield 2010: 24.
80. Sarajzade & Adhami 2008 shows that Kurdish university students are attracted to critical student unions rather than the religious bodies such as University Basij.
81. Ahmadzadeh & Stansfield 2010: 21.
82. Compare Ahmadzadeh & Stansfield 2010: 24–5 with Brandon 2006: 2.
83. Zambelis 2011. Some observers originally reckoned that Iran was secretly supporting PKK against NATO-member and once Israel-allied Turkey (Olson 2001: 75). Yet this strategy seemed contradictory by 2004 when PKK-affiliated PJAK started its guerilla operations and terrorist attacks against Iran. Since then, Turkey and Iran have often coordinated their actions against PKK/PJAK.
84. On PJAK activities, see Brandon 2006, Kaussler 2007, Zambelis 2011.
85. See BBCPersian 2005a, 2005c, RFE/RL 2005.
86. See, for example, Lahsaiezadeh et al. 2009, Navah & Taqavi-Nasab 2006.
87. For example, in 2004, a local health official pointed out that 80 percent of the children in the Dasht-e Azadegan area suffered from malnutrition. Dr. Balali quoted in *Jomburi-ye eslāmi* daily, May 30, 2004 (via Azadtribun 2004).
88. See Chapter 5. For an ethnicist view on the socioeconomic factor, see Bani-Torof 2005 and Khaz’al 2008; for reports from international organizations, see FIDH 2010 and IRIN 2005; for a sociological survey among Arabs in Ahvaz using quantitative methods, see Lahsaiezadeh et al. 2008.
89. IRIN 2005.
90. Rabihe n.d.
91. Khaz’al 2008: 21; see also Bani-Torof 1999.
92. *Hezb-e vafāq-e eslāmi* or *Lajnat-ol-Wafāq*.
93. Al-Tamimi, the Concord leader, withdrew from the reformist coalition, and wrote an open letter to Khatami complaining about the reformists’ inattention to Khuzestan. Al-Tamimi was later arrested.
94. Athanasiadis 2005.
95. Khandaniha 2009.
96. See, for example, Abedin & Farrokh 2005.
97. In 1991, a flooding left some 50,000 Baluch homeless. Another flooding caused widespread damage to agriculture in 2007. See Amnesty 2007.
98. Kamal-od-Din Qorab quoted in Farzanfar 1992: 445–6.
99. See, for example, Amnesty 2007, Eta’at & Musavi 2011: 80.
100. ‘Abbasi-Shavazi & Sadeqi 2005: 35.

101. Farzanfar 1992: 442; Hosseinbor 1984: 110; Piran 2000: 26.
102. See Kaviyanirad 2007: 111. One observer in 1985 claimed that 70 percent of the population was engaged in smuggling (Kamal-od-Din Qorab quoted in Farzanfar 1992: 445–6).
103. On Baluch militancy, see Amnesty 2007, Vatanka & Aman 2006, Zambelis 2006.
104. See, for example, Eta'at & Musavi 2011, Kaviyanirad 2007.
105. LCMM 2010.
106. See Amnesty 2007, Houleh 2007.
107. Amnesty 2007: 19.
108. On cultural repression in Baluchistan, refer to Amnesty 2007, Jahani 2005, RSF 2007.
109. For example, HRW 1997, Athanasiadis 2005.
110. See HRW 1997, Amnesty 2007 and Fars 2009b.
111. One example of this is the fact that many young Baluch evade military service, allegedly since they prefer not to subject themselves to the Shiite indoctrination processes institutionalized in the military. See Kaviyanirad 2007.
112. Kaviyanirad 2007: 112.
113. In 1994, riots broke out in Zahedan when locals protested against the destruction of a Sunni mosque in Mashhad; in 1996, two clerics were killed during parliamentary election campaigns; in 1997, a Sunni cleric was killed under mysterious circumstances in Bandar 'Abbas; in 1998, two Sunni clerics were murdered and a Sunni mosque was bombed; in 2000, a Sunni seminarian was set on fire and killed in Zahedan; and in 2008, a cleric was assassinated in Saravan. In 1990, a Shiite cleric was killed, and in 2000, a bomb hit a Shiite mosque in Zahedan.
114. Iran 2006a.
115. Rooz Online English 2006.
116. See for example Hafezniya & Kaviyani 2006: 33–4; Kaviyanirad 2007.
117. For details, see Baztab 2005a & 2005c, Gooya 2005, Iran 2005a, IRNA 2005a, Jomhuri-ye eslami 2005a. For ethnicist accounts, see AHRO via SAHR 2005. For reports from international organizations, see Amnesty 2006b, HRW 2005.
118. AHRO via SAHR 2005.
119. Compare ISNA 2005a and ILNA 2005a with BAFS (via UNPO 2005).
120. Hamshahri 2005a.
121. For state-affiliated media reports, see Hamshahri 2005b, IRNA 2005b, Kayhan 2005a & 2005b, Mehr 2005a, 2005b and 2005g.
122. Sharq 2005b.
123. Mehr 2005c, Iran 2005b.
124. Amnesty 2006c.
125. See Aftab 2005, BBCPersian 2005d & 2005e, CPPE 2005, Jomhuri-ye eslami 2005b, Iran 2005j, ISA-Amir Kabir 2005, Shahrvand 2005.
126. Baztab 2005e & 2005f, Iran 2005d, 2005e, 2005f, 2005g, 2005h, 2005i.
127. Iran 2005c & 2005d, ISNA 2005d.
128. For official reports in state-affiliated media, see Baztab 2006a, Fars 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2006d, IRANEWS 2006, IRNA 2006a, ISNA 2006a, 2006b, 2006c & 2006d; for reports in international media, see BBCPersian 2006a, 2006b, 2006c.
129. A Revolutionary Guard commander, for example, told officers to be lenient in their dealings with locals, reminding them that smugglers were often the sole breadwinners of impoverished families left with no alternatives to crime. See BBCPersian 2006c.
130. For official reports on this event, see Aftab 2007, Entekhab 2006b, 2006d, 2006f, 2006h, Fars 2007c, 2007d & 2007e, ILNA 2007a, IRNA 2007, ISNA 2006f,

- Kayhan 2007. Authorities also claimed that they seized a ton of drugs during the initial operations, though it was unclear whether these drugs had been in *Jondollāb's* possession.
131. Baloch Front 2006.
 132. BBCPersian 2007.
 133. Iran 2006b.
 134. For official reports in state-affiliated media, see Baztab 2006b & 2006c, ISNA 2006g, Kayhan 2006c. For reports from reformist media, including official statements, see Farda 2006, Farhang-e ashti 2006a, ILNA 2006, ISA-Zanjan 2006. For ethnicist media, see Shams-e Tabriz 2006, Tabriz News 2006. For reports from international media, see BBCPersian 2006d.
 135. Shams-e Tabriz 2006; see also Chapter 5.
 136. Aftab 2006a, b, Entekhab 2006i.
 137. ISNA 2006i, Kayhan 2006c.
 138. Rooz Online Persian 2006.

CHAPTER 3

1. Arjomand 1989, Dabashi 2005, Keddie 1962 & 2006.
2. Malesevic 2006.
3. *Ibid.*: 72, 78.
4. *Ibid.*: 75–6.
5. *Ibid.*: 77.
6. *Ibid.*: 94.
7. Malesevic 2011b: 286.
8. See Zia-Ebrahimi 2011a: Chapter 2.
9. For numerous examples, refer to Kashani Sabet 1999; also Kian & Riaux 2009: 192.
10. Moaddel 2005: 184.
11. Vahabzadeh 2011.
12. Motahhari quoted in Salehi-Amiri 2006: 337.
13. Bazargan quoted in Ashraf 2006: 528.
14. Chubin 1990.
15. See Hunter 1992, Menashri 1990.
16. See Menashri 2001, Mashayekhi 1993.
17. Ram 2009: 46; see also Elling 2012.
18. Ram 2009: 47.
19. Amirahmadi 1996.
20. Holliday 2007.
21. Esteqamat 2010. Masha'ī allegedly proclaimed in 2004 that “the age of Islamism is over.” See Jahan News 2008.
22. Khamene'ī quoted in Paul 2010: 82.
23. Hunter 1992.
24. See, for example, Parsine 2010, Asr-e Iran 2010.
25. Moin 1999: back cover.
26. See, for example, Davari 1980.
27. Babai-Zareh 2004, Toyserkani 2006; for a detailed analysis, see Elling 2012.
28. Menashri 1988: 216.
29. Khomeini as quoted in Atabaki 2005: 38.
30. Menashri 1998: 218.
31. Islamic Republic Party as quoted in Morshedizad 2001: 269–70.

32. Khomeini quoted in Toyserkani 2006: 178.
33. Khomeini in *ibid.*: 180.
34. My paraphrasing of Khomeini as quoted in *ibid.*: 181.
35. Toyserkani 2006: 67.
36. *Ibid.*: 68.
37. *Ibid.*: 70–1.
38. *Ibid.*: 71.
39. *Ibid.*: 166.
40. *Ibid.*: 166, 175.
41. *Ibid.*: 131–2.
42. *Ibid.*: 181.
43. *Ibid.*: 166.
44. Maqsudi 2003, Mo'azzampur 2004.
45. Maqsudi 2003: 129.
46. *Ibid.*: 129.
47. *Ibid.*: 316–7.
48. Mo'azzampur 2004: 139, 184–5.
49. *Ibid.*: 184–5.
50. *Ibid.*: 249.
51. The Expediency Council has mentioned minority rights and development of minority regions in several of its key strategic documents, has organized conferences and has published reports about national unity and ethnic identity. It has even established a so-called Committee for Elites, Ethnic Groups and Subcultures (*komite-ye nokhbegān, qowmiyat-hā va khorde-farhang-hā*). See www.maslahat.ir.
52. Ramezanzadeh 1996: 115, 156.
53. *Ibid.*: 94.
54. *Ibid.*: 119.
55. *Ibid.*: 148.
56. *Ibid.*: 101, 104–13.
57. *Ibid.*: 121–2.
58. *Ibid.*: 121, 236.
59. Salehi-Amiri 2006: 432.
60. *Ibid.*: 431.
61. *Ibid.*: 123.
62. *Ibid.*: 167–8.
63. *Ibid.*: 169.
64. *Ibid.*: 361.
65. *Ibid.*: 445.
66. *Ibid.*: 447–8, 455–6.
67. *Ibid.*: 450–2.
68. For example: Tabnak 2010.
69. Khamene'i 1991, 2006, 2009.
70. See, respectively, President 2005, 2006, 2007, 2009a.
71. See, respectively, President 2009b, 2010a, Fars 2007b, 2009a.
72. See, for example, President 2010b, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c, 2011d.
73. See, for example, President 2009a.
74. See Shahidi 2007, Khiabany 2008. The entire press is dependent on state-controlled licenses, paper supplies and subsidies. Furthermore, various state bodies apply a broad range of political, judicial and extra-judicial tools of repression to intimidate and censor journalists and editors. This demands attention to detail and small differences in

- wordings, headlines and emphasis that may convey widely differing positions and lively debates within the ruling elite.
75. For this task I have received kind help from journalists and experts such as Hossein Bastani and Majid Mohammadi. Also see, Menashri 2001, Semati 2008, Shahidi 2007.
 76. Among these factions, I distinguish between the four main camps at the time of the unrest: the “conservatives” (*mohāfezekārān*, associated with Khamene‘i), “neo-conservatives” (*osulgarāyān*, Ahmadinejad), “pro-reformists” (*eslāhtalabān*, Khatami) and “centrists” (*kārgozārān*, Rafsanjani). This political landscape has changed significantly since then, particularly after the 2009 president election and uprising.
 77. Under the admittedly ambiguous label “officials,” I include the Leader, the President, ministers, MPs and parliamentary spokesmen; administrators in local governance, municipalities and city councils; spokesmen from extra-parliamentary institutions including the Expediency Council and the Guardians Council; state-employed clerics such as Friday Prayer Leaders and members of organizations such as the Islamic Propagation Organization and the Leadership Foundation; the Judiciary, including the Attorney-General and judges; and high-ranking officers of the Army (*artesh*), the Revolutionary Guard (*sepāh-e pāsdrārān*), the paramilitary *Basij* force, the police or Disciplinary Forces (*niru-ye entezāmi*), and the intelligence agencies.
 78. Kayhan 2005f.
 79. For examples of the state reaction to the Khuzestan unrest, refer to Kayhan 2005b, 2005d, IRNA 2005c, ISCA 2005.
 80. ‘Ali Yunesi quoted in Kayhan 2005d.
 81. Ashraf 1992, Abrahamian 2004.
 82. See Kayhan 2005h, ISNA via MEW 2005a, Fars via MEW 2005b.
 83. See BBCPersian 2005b, ISNA 2005c, Mehr 2005f & 2005h.
 84. See Kayhan 2005h, Mehr 2005f & 2005g.
 85. Beeman 2005, Slavin 2007.
 86. See, for example, Hamshahri 2005c, IRNA 2006b, ISNA 2006k, Mehr 2005h, Miras 2006.
 87. See, for example, Baztab 2005h.
 88. A state-run newspaper even put a number to the pay, alleging that *Jondollāh* received up to 1 billion Iranian Rial for each operation: Iran 2006a. For other examples, see ISNA 2006e.
 89. Brigadier-General Ahmadi-Moqaddam quoted in Entekhab 2006a.
 90. Baztab 2007.
 91. See Baztab 2005a, Fars 2005b, Mehr 2005c, 2005f, 2005h.
 92. Baztab 2005b; see also Kayhan 2005e.
 93. Baztab 2005d; see also Mehr 2005c.
 94. Dorri-Najafabadi quoted in ISNA 2006a. Also see BBC Persian 2006/3b, Iran 2006a.
 95. See, for example, Fars 2006b, ISNA 2006a. Iranian reformists even used the word “Taliban” as a derogatory term to condemn their conservative rivals. See for example Iran-e emruz 2005.
 96. Mehr 2005c.
 97. Dorri-Najafabadi quoted in ISNA 2006a.
 98. Judge Hojjatoleslam Nekunam quoted in Entekhab 2006c.
 99. ‘Abbas-‘Ali Soleymani quoted in ISNA 2007.
 100. Baztab 2005i.
 101. Admiral Shamkhani quoted in Iran 2005a.
 102. See, for example, Baztab 2005c, Hamshahri 2005b, Iran 2005b, IRNA 2005d, *Jomhuriye eslami* 2005a.

103. See, for example, ILNA 2005a.
104. See, for example, Fars 2006a, 2006f, 2006g, IRNA 2006a, ISNA 2006l, Kayhan 2006a, Mehr 2007.
105. See ILNA 2007b, Iran 2005k, Mehr 2005f & 2005h.
106. Baztab 2005g.
107. Entekhab 2006c.
108. For example, IRNA 2005a, Kayhan 2005d.
109. See Baztab 2005i, IRNA 2005d, Jomhuri-ye eslami 2005a & 2005b, Kayhan 2005a & 2005f.
110. See Entekhab 2006c & 2007, Farhang-e ashti 2006b, Kayhan 2005a & 2005/4g, Resalat 2007.
111. IRNA 2006c.
112. ISNA 2006i.
113. Kayhan 2006b.
114. See Entekhab 2006e & 2006g, ISNA 2007.
115. Ahvaz MP Seyyed Ahmad Musavi quoted in IRNA 2005b; my emphasis.
116. Kayhan 2005g.
117. See Aghaie 2004, Gieling 2006.
118. See, for example, Kayhan 2005a, Fars 2005a.
119. See, for example, Fars 2005a, Mehr 2005d.
120. Shamkhani quoted in Fars 2005a; see also ILNA 2005b.
121. Shamkhani quoted in Fars 2005a.
122. Dorri-Najafabadi quoted in Fars 2006e.
123. Ayatollah Nuri-Hamadani quoted in ISNA 2006k.
124. See BBCPersian 2006/3b, Iran 2006a, ISNA 2006j & 2006k.
125. For example IRNA 2006c, Kayhan 2006f.
126. Ahmadinejad quoted in Fars 2006h.
127. Mehr 2005f.
128. Rafsanjani quoted in Farhang-e ashti 2006b.
129. MP Bahonar quoted in Kayhan 2006e.
130. Aftab 2006b.
131. ISNA 2006h.
132. See, for example, Mehr 2005e.
133. Yunesi quoted in IRNA 2005b.
134. Shamkhani quoted in Fars 2005a.
135. MP Hamid Zangene quoted in Sharq 2005a; see also Kayhan 2005b.
136. Karubi quoted in ISNA 2005b.
137. Rafsanjani quoted in Kayhan 2006d.
138. Bahonar quoted in Farhang-e ashti 2006b.
139. Marx 2005.
140. See, for example, Juergensmeyer 1993, van der Veer 1994, Smith 2003.
141. Mihelj 2007: 265.
142. Marashi 2008: 113. On the other hand, another “classical” modernist, Ernest Gellner (1981), observed early in his career that Islamism (“Muslim fundamentalism”) is underpinned by the same mechanisms as nationalism.
143. Smith 2009: 76.
144. Ibid.: 76.
145. Malesevic 2006a: 99.
146. Ibid.: 150.
147. Zubaida 2004: 409.

148. Malesevic 2006a: 88.
149. Ibid.: 99.
150. Ibid.: 106–7.
151. Smith 2009: 77.

CHAPTER 4

1. Calhoun 1997: 19.
2. Smith 2009: 72.
3. Billig 1995: 130.
4. May 2008: 20.
5. Ibid.: 52.
6. Calhoun 1997: 77.
7. Ibid.: 79.
8. Ibid.: 53.
9. Paul 1999: 192.
10. Ibid.: 194.
11. See Ashraf 2006, Kashani-Sabet 1999, Tavakoli-Targhi 2001.
12. Ashraf 2006: 254.
13. Kashani 2007.
14. Tavakoli-Targhi 2001: 40.
15. Kashani-Sabet 1999: 174–5; Tavakoli-Targhi 2001: 119–23.
16. Kashani-Sabet 1999.
17. Kashani-Sabet 1999: 139; see also *ibid.*: 108, 125.
18. Afshar's foreword in Nateq 1980: 7–8.
19. Kashani-Sabet 1999: 203.
20. Abrahamian 1970: 293.
21. Parsi 2009: 175.
22. Marashi 2008: 136.
23. Tavakoli-Targhi 2001: 102.
24. See Abdi 2001, Ashraf 2006, Kurzman 2005, Marashi 2008, Parsi 2009. Tavakoli-Targhi 2001.
25. Tavakoli-Targhi 2001: 102.
26. Yar-Shater 1993: 141.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Kian & Riaux 2009, Zia-Ebrahimi 2011a.
29. Zia-Ebrahimi 2011b: 449.
30. Vaziri 1994; see Chapter 5.
31. Tavakoli-Targhi 2001: 102–3; Parsi 2009: 372–3.
32. Marashi 2008: 75; Parsi 2009: 350.
33. Anderson 1991: 140.
34. Kashani-Sabet 1999: 216.
35. Mirza Aqa Khan Kermani quoted in Sadr 1998: 50. See also Marashi 2008: 65.
36. Meskoub 2008.
37. *Ibid.*: 17, 29.
38. *Ibid.*: 19.
39. *Ibid.*: 10.
40. Yar-Shater 1993: 142.
41. Kashani-Sabet 1999: 217.
42. *Ibid.*: 58.

43. Nateq 1980: 17–9, 59, 89–90.
44. Marashi 2008: 64.
45. Kia 1998: 9.
46. Bayat 2009.
47. Kia 1998: 9–10.
48. Afshar quoted in Salehi-Amiri 2006: 248–9.
49. Nateq 1980: 56.
50. *Ibid.*: 58.
51. *Ibid.*: 26.
52. *Ibid.*: 84.
53. *Ibid.*: 85.
54. See Tavakoli-Targhi 2001, Kian & Riaux 2009, Parsi 2009.
55. Afshar quoted in Mo'azzampur 2004: 148–9.
56. Afshar quoted in Parsi 2009: 178.
57. Editorial in *Habl-ol-Matin*, November 12, 1906, translated and quoted by Abrahamian 1970: 293.
58. Kia 1998: 33, note 29.
59. Nateq 1980: 64.
60. *Ibid.*: 42.
61. *Ibid.*: 26.
62. Fazeli 2006: 106.
63. *Ibid.*: 11–14.
64. Mostafa Vaziri; Fazeli 2006.
65. See Bulookbashi 2009. The key focus of foreign anthropologists was on “primitive,” isolated tribal societies, which Tapper (1998: 390) explains with “the ethnographer’s romantic notions about pastoralism, nomadism, and warrior tribes,” and with a “concern to conform with the traditional conventions” of anthropology.
66. Barth 1961. Other prominent scholars worked on Iran’s Bakhtiari, Baluch, Kurds, Shahsevan, Turkmen and Qashqa’is. See also Spooner 1985 & 1998, Tapper 2009.
67. See Fazeli 2006: Chapter 4.
68. Fazeli 2006: 115.
69. See Fazeli 2006: 97; Fakouhi 2009.
70. Fazeli 2006: 149–57.
71. See Fazeli 2006, Fakouhi 2009.
72. Fazeli 2006: 182–190.
73. *Ibid.*: 91–2, 198–9.
74. *Ibid.*: 137, 162–3.
75. Fakouhi 2009: 106; Fazeli 2006: 211.
76. Fakouhi 2009: 97; one scholar has pointed out the detrimental effects of social sciences being a gendered space: Shahshahani 2009.
77. Bulookbashi 2009: 26.
78. Fazeli 2006: 199.
79. Shahbazi 2009: 153–5.
80. Fazeli 2006: 162–3.
81. *Ibid.*: 182; see also Shahbazi 2009.
82. Fazeli 2006: 210.
83. Ahmadi 1995, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2004a-d, 2007.
84. See the conflicting reports on Masha’i’s relation to the institute—or to another institute, under the Intelligence Ministry, with a similar charter—in Parsine 2008, Shomal News 2009.

85. Ahmadi 2003: 9.
86. See, for example, Eslami 2006, Izadi 2004, Maqsudi 2001, Motallebi 2008, Salehi-Amiri 2006.
87. See, for example, Ahmadi 2003, Amirkhosravi 2006, Sabbaghpur 2002, Nassaj 2009.
88. Ahmadi 2003: 9.
89. Ahmadi 2004d: 194.
90. Note the use of ethnic and non-ethnic. As elsewhere (Jenkins 2008: 15, May 2008: 26), there is in Iranian academic works often a tendency to relegate ethnicity only to minorities.
91. Ahmadi 1995: iii, iv, 15.
92. Ibid.: 42, 45, 50.
93. Ibid.: iv.
94. Ibid.: 5.
95. Hushmand & Kuhshekaf 2007: 230–2. For a similar view, see Sabbaghpur 2002 or Nassaj 2009.
96. Hushmand & Kuhshekaf 2007: 234.
97. Ibid.: 233–5.
98. Pak quoted in Hushmand & Kuhshekaf 2007: 236.
99. Pak quoted in Nassaj 2009: 138.
100. Eslami 2006: 197.
101. For example, Izadi 2004.
102. Bahrami 2008.
103. Za'im in Bahrami 2008: 1.
104. Ibid.
105. Indeed, some nationalist-minded intellectuals claim that Iran was the first country in the world to establish a state: Amirkhosravi 2006: 4.
106. Ahmadi 2004d: 195.
107. Ibid.
108. For another pronouncedly nationalistic interpretation of Iranian history, refer to Mo'ini-'Alamdari 2004, who argues that the “narrations” that created Iranian national identity can be dated back to pre-modern times, which means that Iran as a nation is not a modern but an ancient construct.
109. Ahmadi 2003: 9–10.
110. For another example of this view, refer to the introduction of Qamari 2006.
111. Purjavadi 1992: 3–4.
112. Pak quoted in Hushmand & Kuhshekaf 2007: 236.
113. Motallebi 2008: 9.
114. Purjavadi 1992: 4; Za'im in Rahimirad 2006: 3; Pak 2007b: 6; Ramezanzadeh 1996: 178.
115. See, for example, Amiri & Samimi 2007, Sheikhavandi 2005. There are also numerous references to other pre-Islamic rituals such as the *Sadeh* and *Mehregan* festivals.
116. Ahmadi 2003: 16.
117. Maqsudi 2001: 222.
118. Salehi-Amiri 2006: 145–6.
119. The folklorist Zand-Moqaddam (Ahmadi 2004c: 314), for example, refers to a local Baluch cleric's statement that the Baluch have been present in “the Iranian army” throughout “all wars in Iran,” from Xerxes' campaigns against Greece (480 B.C.) to popular resistance against the Mongol invasion (thirteenth century A.D.). Indeed, the Baluch are indefatigable “border guards” (*marzdārān*), Zand-Moqaddam argues, thus omitting

- the fact that historically, culturally, linguistically and religiously, Baluch “borders” were and are not necessarily congruent with the territorial borders of present-day Iran.
120. See, for example, Amirkhosravi 2006, Eslami 2006, Maqsudi 2001, Maqsudi 2003, Motallebi 2008, Ra’is-Tusi 2006.
 121. Ramezanzadeh 1996: 206.
 122. Farrokhi 2005: 77–8.
 123. Za’im in Rahimirad 2006: 1.
 124. Eslami 2006: 200–2; for other examples of Baluch and Kurds described as Aryan, see Eftekhari 1999, Motallebi 2008, Salehi-Amiri 2006: 149.
 125. Seyyed-Emami 2004: 165.
 126. See, for example, Ahmadi 2004d: 197, 212.
 127. Izadi 2004: 356–7; for other examples, see Morshedizad 2001, Salehi-Amiri 2006.
 128. See, for example, Ahmadi 2001, Farrokh 2005, Izadi 2004.
 129. Izadi 2004: 405.
 130. *Ibid.*: 407–8.
 131. Ahmadi 2004b: 91.
 132. See, for example, Zand-Moqaddam in Ahmadi 2004c: 312.
 133. Pak 2007b: 6.
 134. See, for example, Ahmadi 1999, Shabani 2006.
 135. For example Maqsudi 2001: 225, Pak 2004: 172–3.
 136. Purjavadi 1992: 4.
 137. Amirkhosravi 2006: 8; see also Za’im in Rahimirad 2006 for similar arguments.
 138. Pak 2004: 182–4.
 139. A similar critique of minority elites as oblivious not only to Iranian history and political culture but also to the international world of politics is found in Izadi 2004: 412.
 140. Pak 2007b: 7, my emphases.
 141. Motallebi 2008: 6–7. For a similar view, see Nassaj 2009: 138.
 142. See also Baharlunezhad 2006, Divsalari 2009, Eftekhari 1999, Farrokhi 2005, Qamari 2006.
 143. Motallebi 2008: 16.
 144. See, for example, Eftekhari (1999: 36), who states that “widening the gap between Turks and non-Turks is one of the basic goals of foreign powers.”
 145. Za’im in Bahrami 2008: 1.
 146. Rahmani 2008: 2.
 147. For example Ahmadi 2004b: 84–7.
 148. Ahmadi 2004b: 96.
 149. *Ibid.*: 83–4.
 150. *Ibid.*: 89.
 151. Ahmadi 2004a: 12.
 152. See, for example, Bahrami 2008 or Rahmani 2008.
 153. Varjavand 2000.
 154. National Front 2004.
 155. For other examples, see Izadi 2004, who has hailed measures such as the banning of the Azeri-language press in the 1980s.
 156. Ahmadi 1996: 147.
 157. Ramezanzadeh 1996: 147.
 158. Ahmadi 2004b: 112, my emphasis.
 159. Zand-Moqaddam in Ahmadi 2004c; Salehi-Amiri 2006 142.
 160. Pak 2004: 173.

161. Ramezanzadeh 1996: 218; Za'im (in Rahimirad 2006: 3) even argues that if Kurds were to secede from these two countries, they would do so only because they see themselves as Iranians, rather than as Turks or Arabs.
162. For example Ahmadi 2003: 41.
163. Ahmadi 2004d: 212.
164. For examples, see Izadi 2004, Motallebi 2008, Purjavadi 1992.
165. Eftekhari 1999: 39.
166. Za'im in Rahimirad 2006: 2.
167. Izadi 2004: 356.
168. Za'im in Bahrami 2008: 2.
169. An example of this is from Pak (2007b: 10): "If the Persian language was not obligatory in education, what would have happened to those who fled the war between Iran and Iraq and migrated to the Persian(!)-inhabited areas? How would "Bashu, the Little Stranger" from Khuzestan be able to play with his peers in northern Iran? And, by the way, if the teaching of Persian was not compulsory, how could our local elites reach the level of literacy they have today? And finally, what treasure trove of knowledge and culture have you found beyond Iran's borders since you wish to learn local languages to access it?" The first reference here is to Khuzestan's Arabs who fled the war and settled in mainly Persian-speaking areas; and the second is to Bahram Beyza'i's 1986 movie about a child refugee, Bashu, from southern Iran who settles among Gilaki-speaking people in the north. The third statement, clearly sarcastic, alludes to ethnicists ("local elites"), and their attainment of literacy in an Iranian education system based on Persian. The final statement seems to indicate that Iran's neighboring countries cannot possibly have a more enriching and refined cultural and literary heritage than that of Iran—and hence, there is no reason to learn "their" languages.
170. See, for example, Ahmadi 1996, Rahimirad 2006.
171. Ahmadi 2003: 21–2.
172. Qamari 2006: 97.
173. Ibid.: 100.
174. Ahmadi 2004b: 112.
175. Izadi 2004: 410.
176. Bonakdar 2009.
177. Za'im in Bahrami 2008: 1.
178. For example, Arab ethnicists use the name "Mohammerah" instead of "Khorramshahr" for an important city in Khuzestan, and some Arab ethnicists refer to Khuzestan as "Arabistan" or "Al-Ahwaz." Izadi laments about the Azeri-language magazine *Ārāz* that "pan-Turkists" behind the magazine chose to spell the name with *z* instead of *s* and the long vowel *ā* instead of short *a*. As several other scholars, Izadi is also worried about the use in bi-lingual Azeri magazines of the alphabet used in the Republic of Azerbaijan. See Izadi 2004.
179. Bonakdar (2009), for example, condemned a 2009 communiqué from Azeri ethnicists on the occasion of International Mother Language Day that was authored in both Persian and Azeri (in the Latin-based alphabet), and signed with what Bonakdar claims is "strange and hostile pseudonyms such as Attila, Ilghar, Kublai and Okhtay"—testaments, Bonakdar believes, to the authors' "obsession with rotten racial meta-narratives". Actually, names such as Attila and Ilghar—even Genghis (*changiz*)—are common among Iranians, but it appears that in an ethnicist context, they are perceived as threats to Iran: the revived ghosts of Huns and Mongols.
180. Parsi 2008: 379.
181. Holiday 2007.

182. Rahmani 2008: 3.
183. Malesevic 2006a: 110–1, 113.
184. Ibid.: 129.
185. Ibid.: 131.
186. Ibid.: 145.
187. Calhoun 1997: 18.
188. May 2008: 5 with reference to Billig 1995.
189. See May 2008: 143, 147.
190. Brubaker 2004: 291–2.
191. May 2008: 37.

CHAPTER 5

1. Quoted in Mahmudi & Sa'idi 2002.
2. Abrahamian 1970.
3. Abrahamian 1970, 1981.
4. The Democrat Party's declaration for autonomy, published in *Azerbaijan*, November 25, 1945, translated and quoted by Abrahamian 1970: 309.
5. Today, Vaziri is a lecturer at University of Innsbruck, Austria.
6. Vaziri 1994: 11.
7. Ibid.: 3.
8. Ibid.: 213.
9. Ibid.: 8.
10. Ibid.: 5.
11. Ibid.: 218.
12. Martin-Asgari 1995, Tavakoli-Targhi 1994.
13. Tavakoli-Targhi 1994: 317.
14. Martin-Asgari 1995: 262.
15. Boroujerdi 1998: 43.
16. Ibid.: 47.
17. Ibid.: 45–6.
18. Ibid.: 50.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.: 44.
21. Saad 1996: 10, 12.
22. Ibid.: 18.
23. Ashraf 2004: 135.
24. Baraheni 1977: 11–12.
25. Al-Taie 1999.
26. Al-Taie 1999: 144–5, note 1.
27. Ibid.: 144–5, note 1, 239, 248.
28. Asgharzadeh 2007: x.
29. Ibid.: x.
30. Al-Taie 1999: 230–1.
31. Asgharzadeh 2007: 6.
32. This term refers to Jalal Al-e Ahmad's *gharbzadegi* ("Westoxification," which denotes Iranian infatuation with and then hatred toward everything Western).
33. Bani-Torof 2006: 3.
34. Ibid.: 3.
35. Al-Taie 1999: 80.

36. Baraheni 2008.
37. For examples of ethnicists emphasizing the major contributions of Turkic-speaking dynasties to Iranian history, see Baraheni 2008, Sadr 1998.
38. Al-Taie 1999: 171.
39. Ibid.: 172.
40. Asgharzadeh 2007: 3.
41. Ibid.: 114.
42. Al-Taie 1999: 190.
43. See: Gerdizi nd.a, nd.b, 2007.
44. Al-Taie 1999: 117.
45. See, for example, Asgharzadeh 2007: p. 94.
46. Sadr-ol-Ashrafi in Shahrvand 2007: 6.
47. Asgharzadeh 2007: 11.
48. Al-Taie 1999: 204.
49. Ja'fari 2007: 67–71.
50. Iranian federalism, Bani-Torof argues, should be the first step toward a confederate structure for the whole Middle East: an entity resembling the European Union in which Iran would be the axis.
51. Bani-Torof 2006: 6.
52. See, for example, Sadr (1998) for an elaborate ethnicist critique of a Persian-centric, nationalist definition of Iranian-ness.
53. Al-Taie 1999: 239.
54. Ibid.: 191–2; see also Savalanli 2008.
55. Al-Taie 1999: 191.
56. Bani-Torof 2006: 3.
57. Ibid.: 3–4.
58. See, for example, Ahangari 2008, Payedar 2008.
59. Tabrizi 2009: 1.
60. Al-Taie 1999: 174, 182; Asgharzadeh 2007: 122–3.
61. Al-Taie 1999: 174, 181–2.
62. Ibid.: 174.
63. Ibid.: 173.
64. Ibid.: 71.
65. Baraheni 2008: 81.
66. Shirin Alamhooli quoted in IHRDC 2012.
67. *Günash* appears to have been published since 2003, and in 2008, it had 40 issues. It is uncertain whether or not it is still published.
68. Jahanbakhsh 2008a.
69. Jahanbakhsh 2008b.
70. Ibid.: 15.
71. See Tabrizli 2008.
72. Saveli 2008: 145.
73. Al-Taie 1999: 12.
74. Ibid.: 19.
75. Kermanshahi 2008: 4.
76. Ibid.: 4.
77. See, for example, Ja'fari 2007.
78. See, for example, Sadr 1998: 45–6.
79. Baraheni 2008: 85.
80. Anonymous protestor quoted in Jahanbakhsh 2008b: 74–5.

81. After having experienced the short-lived stint at Azeri autonomy and cultural revival in 1946, Zehtabi left Iran for a lengthy exile in the USSR and Iraq. He returned after the revolution to work at Tabriz University, where he conducted research on Turkic linguistics and history, and published several books. Zehtabi died under what fellow ethnicists claim was mysterious circumstances.
82. This claim runs counter not only to established Iranology but also to Turcology, linguistics and archaeology. See Golden 1992, Johanson & Csató 1998.
83. Many thanks to Dr. Touraj Atabaki for sharing an unpublished manuscript debunking Zehtabi's work.
84. Poorpirar nd.
85. Asgharzadeh 2007: 47–8.
86. Ibid.: 177.
87. Al-Taie 1999: 241–2.
88. Ibid.: 159.
89. Asgharzadeh 2007: 13.
90. For example Izadi 2004: 395–6.
91. Sadr 1998: 9.
92. Grillot-Susini 1998.
93. Sadr 1998: 26.
94. Ibid.: 28.
95. Amnesty 2006a & 2006c, BAFS 2007, HRW 2005, HRW 2007.
96. See, for example, Akhbar-e Rooz 2011, Amnesty 2011, HRW 2011, RSF 2011.
97. HRW 2012.
98. Amnesty 2008. See also Amnesty 2008, DW—World 2007, IHRDC 2011, Mizan 2008b; Mukrian 2007a–k.
99. See Fars 2009a & 2011.
100. See AFP 2008, Fars 2008, Fathi 2008, Zambelis 2009.
101. See Amnesty 2007. For the ethnicist groups' perspective, refer to Balochistan People's Party website (www.balochpeople.org), Balochistan National Movement (*Zrombesh*)'s website (www.zrombesh.org) and the *Jondollāh* website (www.junbish.blogspot.com)
102. See Advar 2008, AKU 2007, Amnesty 2006b, CHRA 2008, CHRR 2008, Ghahreman 2008, Gooya 2006, 2008a & 2008b, ILNA 2007b, Mizan 2008a, Rooz 2008, Rooz Online Persian 2006, SCHRR 2007.
103. See, for example, Mosharekat 2008.
104. See Hammihan 2009, Musavi 2009, QalamNews 2009. Musavi in particular seemed to pay attention to issues raised by the Sunni community.
105. See AdvarNews 2009, Bigdeli 2009, ILNA 2009, SahamNews 2009.
106. Afary 2010.
107. Shaykhi 2010.
108. Fars 2007a.
109. HRW 2009: 19.
110. Amnesty 2008.
111. IHRDC 2012.
112. Ibid.
113. Ibid.
114. See, for example, HRANA 2009, Amnesty 2007: 10.
115. Amnesty 2007: 7.
116. HRW 2009.
117. Mukrian 2008.
118. Zamaneh 2011.

119. Soghdi 2010.
120. BHRW 2008.
121. ISNA 2006m.
122. IAS 2005.
123. RAHANA 2010.
124. IHRDC 2012.
125. For example Ghahreman 2008.
126. Fifteen people were reportedly detained in September 2006 for complicity in a call for this boycott. See FIDH 2010: 15.
127. Amnesty 2006b.
128. Whereas the urban *hoviyat-talab* student organizations that were key in mobilizing the masses for the 2006 unrest are based in universities, it seems that *Tirākhtursāzi* draws on a rural populations with a relatively lower educational background. More research is needed, however, to prove this hypothesis and, more generally, to map the Azeri ethnicist movement.
129. Bani-Hashemi 2002.
130. Bashiriyeh 2004: 115–7.
131. Ravasani 2004: 115.
132. Bulookbashi 2009: 21, 25.
133. Nadjmabadi 2009: 10.
134. Bani-Hashemi 2002.
135. See, for, example Hafeznyi & Kaviyani (2006: 38–9) on Baluchistan’s Sunnis.
136. See Nurbakhsh 2008, Reza’i & Kazemi 2008 & Seyyed-Emami 2008. There are indications that some of these scholars themselves hail from minority regions. If this is the case, the expansion of higher education and research under the Islamic Republic, combined with the restrictions and impediments for doing research abroad and with growing ethnic awareness, seems to have created an interesting cocktail.
137. For two good examples, see Lahsaiezadeh et al. 2009 and Navah & Taqavi-Nasab 2006.
138. Fakouhi 2009: 89–90.
139. Fakouhi 2010: 224.
140. Ibid.: 224.
141. Ibid.: 206.
142. Ibid.: 211.
143. Ibid.: Part Two, Chapter 3.
144. Malesevic 2006a: 47.
145. Malesevic 2011: 273.
146. Vaziri 1994: 217.
147. National Front 2009.
148. Malesevic 2011a: 70.

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