Theoretical Explanation of Ethnic Divergence in Political Geography

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Abstract

Ethnic divergence and investigation of its identity, spatial and political aspects is one of the central topics of geopolitical studies. Although different disciplines have addressed the fundamental applications of this cultural-geographical phenomenon, the ambiguities about the position of ethnic studies in geopolitics sometimes results in blurred expression of its epistemological domain with other scientific domains such as sociology, political science and international relations. In this regard, the aim of this paper is to present a framework and theoretical model for study of ethnic divergence in geopolitics. This is a descriptive-analytical study. The data were collected by library study. Results of this study show that if the ethno-nationalism is based on two bases i.e. bedrock (spatial-politics) and mechanisms, geopolitics will investigate the domain mainly focused on environmental elements (spatial-politics). This means that national, regional and global environments are the platforms that facilitate ethnic divergence. Therefore, it can be said that geopolitics addresses effective environmental bedrock contributing to formation of ethnic divergence which can play an important role in the emergence of and guiding of divergence mechanisms.

Keywords: Political Geography, Ethnicity, Divergence.

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1. Introduction

The study of ethno-nationalism phenomenon is the preserve of various disciplines and areas of expertise. In geopolitics, this can be investigated from two viewpoints: the relationship between the topic of divergence and geopolitical studies, and the reductionist perspective on the investigation of ethnic divergence. The former is more due to the novelty of ethnic studies in geopolitical research. This has resulted in the situation in which the theoretical discussions of the neighbouring fields of geopolitics are partially addressed. These investigations also fail to reach correct scientific insight for solving such sort of problems; moreover, the neighbouring disciplines may be regarded as disturbance as well.

The other issue is the reductionist perspective on ethnic divergence, which is the consequence of the lack of comprehensive theories and models in this regard. As a major part of these issues, originate from the specific geography and geopolitics of a country ignoring it or having a sole sociological or political insight toward it cannot help in a correct understanding of this phenomenon. The present study is an attempt toward a correct analysis of ethnic divergence and designing a model and analytical framework for comprehensive investigation of this issue.

2. Concepts and Theories

2.1. Divergence: concept and scope

In terms of objectives, divergence can be classified into three types: divergence relative to the political regime whose main aim is to modify or overthrow the governing political system. This type of divergence does not have separatism objectives in its initial phases and can be named political divergence. The other type is related to the territory. In this type of divergence, ethnical groups do not have the sense of belonging to the national territory and think that their destiny is separated from the destiny of the national land. This could be regarded as a territorial divergence. The last one is related to the nation, where an ethnical group does not have the sense

of congruity with the other composing groups of a country. In terms of objectives, this type of divergence is between the political and territorial divergence; however, it has a higher tendency toward territorial divergence. The factors of such divergence are in two main spectra: background and mechanism factors that will be discussed in below.

2.2. Background: space-political-identity
2.2.1. Cultural-identity platforms
Reason: The extent and quality of factors and elements of a country's formation and stability in terms of national solidarity are of particular importance. In this regard, groups of nations are committed to one principle among the materialistic and spiritual principles of human environment and assume that as the reason for formation and integrity of that human group in the form of a nation or a country. These countries do not have an integrated nation. Contrary to these countries, many countries try to establish several factors as the indicator of their nation and identity as an "integrated nation different from others" (Mojtahedzadeh, 2003: 31-3). In fact, the main reason is to establish a convergence. Governments have two approaches to establishing convergence. One considers the originality to the spiritual factors while the other considers it to the materialistic issues. The distinguished representatives of these two approaches are Gottmann and Hartshorne (Mojtahedzadeh, 2000: 55-6). Gottmann mentioned the importance of symbols such as history, myths, literature and social habits in the construction and destruction of governments. Nevertheless, Hartshorne believed that a country has to consider spatial inequalities in terms of life standards, level of literacy, education and economics, institutions and racial and class differences (especially political philosophy) in addition to cultural features such as language, religion, ethnicity and race (Moyer, 2000).

Common national identity: According to Charles Taylor, identity means who I am and where I do belong (Beheshti, 2001: 104-5). When identity is investigated in relation with nation, it is known as national

identity. National identity is an artificial topic, which has been made throughout the history and then would be stabilized in the form of a collective memory (Alamdari, 2007: 26). When there is the risk of sub-cultures for attenuating the sense of common identity, the governments should reinforce national identity relative to ethnic one (Kymlicka, 1995: 72-3) because the function of national identity is to make people believe that their country exists since their ancestors established that and defended it against the enemies (Jordan and Rowntree,2001: 174). This is of such crucial importance that Ravels has called it civil religion (Walzer, 2004: 106). National identity should be comprehensive. In other words, if the majority has a lot in common with minorities but they are different in one issue, for example religion, instead of emphasizing the religion, there should be emphasis on other aspects, which are shared with minorities. The more successful this program, the more successful the formation of a land community where all contribute to its destiny (Miller 2004: 103). Identity will end in the formation of a nation when there are some consciousness about it. Governments can play a significant role in awareness and promotion of common identity due to having official education, media and cultural institutes. By the formation of modern governments with definite land frameworks and the necessity of forcing and showing the governance on the land and removal of any possible threats for national convergence and social integrity, most governments have recognized ethnic diversity as a threat. In this regard, they have deliberately tried to prioritize the ethnics, cultures and language of one ethnicity and attempted to make the ethnic-cultural differences similar according to their political, administrative and security requirements. However, this policy has been faced with conscious resistance of the community and the self-awareness and ethnic-cultural identity have developed in this regard. It can be said that the project of nationalizing based on similarisation can itself promote ethno-nationalism(Azami, Jahangiri, 2010: 82).

Social interaction and integration: Social interaction means direct and indirect relationship of the society members beyond their ethnic and religious origins. Such relationship can result in cultural and social exchanges leading to the formation of a common identity among them. This process is the consequence of societies' modernization. In this process, the society is affected by a general and comprehensive culture. Modernization involves a standard language, common economy, political and educational institutes. This has three main reasons: the requirements of modern economical function, the need for common identity and solidarity and development of public culture (Kymlicka, 1995: 76-7).

National composition: The composition of linguistic, religious and racial groups of a nation and their differences are of crucial importance. In other words, the higher the diversity of the different ethnic and religious groups and the closer their population ratios, the higher the competitions and tensions in that country will be. The deep historical and cultural roots of these differences will increase the intensity of the competitions and tensions. Nevertheless, if an ethnical group has higher ratio of the population and the other groups have some common indices with this majority, the process of social integration will be accelerated and convergence will substitute the tension.

2.2.2. Spatial-political platforms
Political thoughts: Each political system needs specific ideologies and thoughts to make itself popular among the public. This issue is particularly important in terms of identity and ethnic issues since the extent of its harmony with the existential cause of a nation and country is important. When a political system is a reflection of all aspects of the nation's and country's existential cause, it is evident that the national convergence will be high in these political systems; as it will be accompanied by comprehensive insights into all the components of the country. But if the political system ignores a part of existential cause of the country and

decrease its political thoughts to a small part of the country's existential cause, a part of nation will be excluded and probably revolt against it. Therefore, the bedrocks for political and land divergence will be strong in such political systems. Therefore, the most important measures that a government has to take will be discussed.

Official education: The modern government has used education for promoting a common identity from the beginning of its emergence. One of the objectives of official education is to create sense of common identity and goals, which is provided freely, or by public subsidies and conveyed gradually (Black sell, 2006: 60). From the nationalists' point of view, people's culture has to be rediscovered by public education and the nation soul has to be filled with love (Smith, 2004, 52). Ernest Gellner regarded the new nations the product of new schools as the national language and official culture are taught, grown and developed (Maghsoudi, 2002: 72). Education also should address the reinforcement of public culture which means standardizing the political, social and cultural life. Hechter believed that the lower the standardization of language and culture by the government, the stronger the cultural societies in the ethnic regions (Hutchinson and Smith, 2007: 285-6).

Citizenship right: This idea that all the people would be treated equally can uproot social tension (Faulks, 2002: 14). Some believe in compliance with citizenship right relative to groups such as ethnical groups, while others think that it is of a personal nature. In individualism, people are tolerated, as a citizen; everyone has the rights and commitments the same as others. They are expected to be committed to the culture of majority in these conditions; the governments forbid regional self-authority (Walzer, 2004). Kymlicka thinks that collective rights refer to the rights, which are in accordance with a society, and are demanded by them (Kymlicka, 1995: 45). Kymlicka emphasizes multicultural citizenship which considers the importance of culture for creation of the sense of personal dignity and identity (Faulks,

2002: 118). According to Kymlicka, group rights involve three different types of rights: the right for representativeness, the rights of autonomy and multi-ethnic rights (Kymlicka, 1995: 37-8).

Geographical justice: Compliance with the principles of geographical justice will increase the convergence in a country. This could be true in two ways: first, by uprooting the sense of relative deprivation and discriminations for ethnical regions, it is possible to terminate the doubts of ethnical groups and create this feeling that they have equal rights just like the majority. Economic development is automatically the origin of national integrity (Roshandel, 2000: 162). The second form is the same trend, which occurred along with modernization of the countries and resulted in social integrity among the people. Economic modernization will result in accumulation of capital, commercial-industrial development, personal, social, national and regional work division, mass production, creation of a national market and establishment of a monetary relationship among the people and therefore extends the governing economic structure throughout the country (Maghsoudi, 2001: 144).

Social justice: Social justice means equal social opportunities for all people of a society. This principle not only requires openness of job opportunities to all, but also obliges the political institutions to take suitable measures to guarantee that people with similar skills and motivations have equal opportunities (Telis 2006: 108). Social justice seeks people's life benefits in a country regardless of their belief and identities, which involves access to income, public health and education from the government budget(Faulks, 2002: 133). This is what is called "equal ignorance" in liberalism(Kymlicka, 1995: 108).

Spatial political organization: Country division is a framework for implementation of government's policies. Two types of country division exist at macro level: integrated and federal patterns. Integrated countries are characterized by power concentration in the central government without any

governing rights for the states or provinces. All the important decisions are made in the centre and the policies will be implemented uniformly throughout the country. On the contrary, the federal patterns are based on cultural differences and provide a mechanism by which different regions can continue their specific features. In this type of government, power is distributed among all the states (Jordan and Rowntree, 2001: 152-3).

Election policy: Election is the platform for important issues originating from social, economic, political and cultural aspects of a country relative to its geographical and cultural characteristics. One of these issues is ethnic issues whose application in election is of particular importance (Abdi et al, 2014: 99). Election system has an important role in the development of political-ethnic organizations. For newly established parties, obtaining a political representation is more difficult in countries with Single Member District (SMD) as compared with those possessing proportional Representation systems (Rudolph, 2006: 20). In Single member district systems, the suffrage is equal for all people and the chance of winning is based on the principle of majority. In this regard, the borders of all polling stations are equally plotted and have equal size. On the contrary, in the proportional pattern, electoral areas and division units are based on forming a majority of a society inside a unit with specific economic, ethnic, religious, territory and historical benefits, which can be reflected in legislation. Some believe that granting the representation is an extensive departure from democratic concepts, which can result in weakening of liberal democratic norms in personal rights and citizenship responsibilities(Kymicka, 1995: 134-6).

Party policy: Many believe that by resolving the limitations hindering candidacy and party leadership by poor people, women and minorities, the needs of different layers of the society could be fulfilled and they can be absorbed; however, others believe that by exclusive right of representation to reference groups, they can determine their affairs in the

country(Kymicka, 1995: 133).

In third world and developing countries with no comprehensive and original parties, the condition is suitable for growth of ethnic-territorial parties. Rudolph compared the third world and Eastern European countries with the stabilized western democracies and stated that after the end of the cold war and in the absence of comprehensive parties, the ethnic parties have been developed in third world and newly independent countries. After the end of World War II, in developed countries; however, these ethnic parties had to compete with the original and extensive parties with much experience. This hindered the growth of ethnic parties in the developed countries (Rudolph, 2006: 21).

2.3. Geopolitics
In geopolitics, the location of the ethnic groups within the political borders of a country and the geopolitical position of the host country of the specific ethnic group are of particular importance. This determines the type of political, cultural, economic and social behaviour of the ethnic groups in the framework of political borders relative to the governing majority. In fact, it can be said that all the sociological, political, economic and psychological approaches and analyses of the ethnic groups' political behaviours and originating the ethno-nationalism would be incorrect without considering the geopolitical facts of the issue because position of an ethno-oriented movement and taking ethnic policies are all closely related to their geopolitical backgrounds. Countries' geopolitical measures and the way they react to the factors from outside their borders requires implicit support of their people. Nationalistic ideology provides a sense of loyalty to the country and believing in the fact that security depends on government and integrity of a land claimed by a national group (Flint, 2011: 164).

In geopolitics, the minorities with high geopolitical weight who are located in peripheral areas are considered more frequently (Ibid: 94). Geopolitics pays attention to land fundamentals of ethno-nationalism.

Walzer said that minorities would legitimize their languages in public schools, legal documents and commercial advertisements when they have required power and in particular territorial foundations. In other words, if minorities are concentrated in a specific territory, it is probable that they will think about forming their own government or ponder on linking to one of the neighbouring countries (Walzer, 2004: 38-9). In this regard, presence of dense population in central regions and distributed ethnical groups in boundary regions is desirable. Such pattern will promote a common social sense among the nation and minimize their relationship with the foreign countries. On the contrary, population concentration in the boundary regions and presence of dispersed population in the centre is the worst type of population distribution. Such pattern will result in tendency to slow down the relationship with the central regions and having closer interaction with the people of other countries (Jordan and Rowntree, 2001: 172). This feature is the basis for analysis of ethnic convergence or divergence and designing proper ethnic policy for the countries.

Spatial distribution of ethnic groups: Pear George divided minorities to two groups in terms of distribution and position: the first group is minorities located in a specific space and the second group refers to groups distributed as if dispersed islands in a majority-occupied space (George, 1995: 19). In fact, spatial minorities are those having a special geographical space separated from the majority who are now located in the peripheral or central regions of the countries. These types of minorities could develop the sense of autonomy or the desire of political independence or formation of a government if they possess high geopolitical weight (near to that of majority in a way that they can promote internal consciousness). Social minorities who are living inside the space of majority in a common habitat will not have social or geographical multiplication (Hafeznia, 2006: 93).

Regarding the importance of the role of geopolitics in ethnic divergence, Herotis stated: in Spain both Catalans and Basques have the same feeling,

but Basques have strong and violence-supporting political parties. The reason could be attributed to the temptations of being unified with French Basques. Therefore, it can be said that geographical position is a causative element in divergence (Hutchinson and Smith, 2007: 382-6). Peter Haggett described the tensions among the countries, which can be partially due to ethnical group's location resulting in the emergence of ethnic divergence in a country by a geopolitical model. In this model, he introduced 12 geopolitical conflicts for hypothetical countries among which four cases were related to ethnic groups' locations. The first case involved location of an ethnic group along the borders of a country. The second one was related to a special group divided between a hypothetical country and its neighbour at both sides of the border. The third case was about nomadic motion of an ethnical group from one side of the border to the other. Finally the fourth one addressed the ethnic groups inside a country who claimed separated identity for themselves and are supported by the foreign countries (Haggett, 2000: 376-7).

Irredentism: This is an Italian term first referring to Italian-speaking lands in the 19th century, which were governed by foreign countries. Regaining these territories was a sacred task for Italians and involved diplomatic activities, public unrest and even military tools (Esman, 2004: 103). James Mayal stated: in modern politics, the term "Irredentism" refers to any claim for land from a national government for the lands in the territory of another government. These claims are sometimes supported by historical or ethnic issues; this means that the regaining government emphasizes a part of its territory which was once taken from it unfairly or a part of its nation who were unfairly isolated from their organic social nation (Hutchinson and Smith 2007: 392-3). In these cases, the risk of violence is high (Kymlica, 1955: 58). The difference between the Irredentism and separatism is that separatism depends on the groups' loyalty not a controversial   territorial   claim   or   the   claim   of   historical

ownership(Hutchinson and Smith 2007: 390). However, Irredentism can sometimes act as a tool for national mobilization and providing public support for domestic issues (Ibid: 394).

Irredentism is one of the threats of international peace in today's world. The crisis of former Yugoslavia is one of the evident examples. Poland introduced itself as the support of Leas in Romania and Slovakia or Serbia knows itself as the support of Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia. This issue does not exist in North America due to lack of supporting countries for ethnic minorities. In this regard, the international peace is less threatened in comparison with Europe (Kymlica, 1955: 58). However, this issue is not the only determining factor reflecting the entire reality. In this regard, other political factors such as political, economic and geographical elements should be considered. The other geopolitical parameters are also playing a role in this issue. Strategic location, geopolitical belongings and geopolitical weight can be mentioned as the distinguished ones.

Strategic location: It means being located in a special geographical region which enables a country or region to have a unique effect in promoting the strategic objectives of Great powers. Therefore, the Great powers have always tried to be in these regions. If they failed to dominate these regions by peaceful means, they try to reach to their goals by making various crises such as intensifying the ethnic issues and then introducing their claim of preventing human rights violation and defending the people.

Geopolitical interests: Interests are intense subjective mentalities reflecting the basic needs and ambitions of a country (Collins, 2004: 21). In this regard, the interests, which are related to geopolitical elements, can be investigated as geopolitical interests. Therefore, geopolitical interests are assumed to be spatial and geographical supplements beyond the borders which are structurally homogeneous and can fulfil the demands and deficiencies of a country. Geopolitical interests have similarity and integrity with whole or a part of natural and humanitarian needs of a country or are

those, which can supply the political, economic, commercial, communicative, cultural, social, religious, technological, military, security and environmental needs of a country in which the country is interested(Hafeznia, 2006: 120). At first step, this involves nationalistic feelings toward the part of a nation, which is isolated from the motherland. however, it seems that factors such as escaping from the geopolitical difficulties, creation of strategic depth, achieving economic benefits and finally increasing the geopolitical weight of the claiming country play a profound role in intensifying these types of claims for reoccupying a part of adjacent territory. Achieving these expansionistic and irredentist goals depends on other important factors called geopolitical weight.

Geopolitical weight: Geopolitical weight means the forces and positive and negative factors affecting the national power of a country. In other words, it implies the sum of national power factors (Hafeznia, 2006: 109). In relation to irredentism, this factor can play its role in three different manners: the geopolitical weight of the claiming country, the geopolitical weight of the country of the ethnic minority and the geopolitical weight of the ethnic minorities themselves. For the first two cases, the two disputing countries try to enhance their national power to show the ethnic minority that being a part of their countries will bring substantial materialistic and spiritual benefits. The example of this case can be observed in superior position of the host culture in the USA. Chinese immigrants, especially their children, are highly interested in accepting American culture. On the contrary, The Chinese who are among the leading culture producers of the world, have a very low motivation for convergence and accept Indonesian culture which is not attractive due to lacking cultural prestige, strong economy and also economic weaknesses. In other words, the tendency to converge is itself a deal based on pros and cons (Esman, 2004: 158). This is an example of wisdom screening capable of guiding the mechanism of divergence and convergence. Numerous questions are present here such as

to what extent secession movements will bring us welfare, security, dignity and power? What are the historical, cultural and geopolitical justifications of separation from the host country and joining the adjacent country? In case of secession movements, how severe would be the suppressive measures of the host country and how powerful is the supporting country? Can the secession movement attract the support of great powers, international institutions and organizations and NGO?

The geopolitical weight is also important in terms of the ethnic groups themselves; if the minority groups have the feeling of being small relative to the majority, they try to adapt themselves to the condition. But if they have significant geopolitical weight in comparison with the majority, they will develop some sense of independence and political separation and independence; and claim their demands from the majority such as autonomy, national authority and equal citizenship rights and finally political independence (Hafeznia, 2006: 93). Walzer thinks that minorities can claim when they are high in number and concentrated geographically; or they have such economic and political power that the common citizenship could be possible and facilitate bilateral coexistence (Beheshti, 2001: 166). Hechter thinks that weak central regions have problems in occupying the strong peripheral regions. This would be highlighted when they had strong state system before being joined to the new country (Ibid: 282). If secession does not end in independence and leads to being absorbed in a weaker country, the group will no longer show any interest in secession (Hutchinson and Smith, 2007: 381-382).

2.4. International community and modern tribalism
The Last decades of 20th century witnessed economic globalization, dissolution of bipolar system and change of tension levels from global to local; this resulted in emergence of extra national players in political, legal and economic fields and led to alteration of the nature of ethnic issues. In the modern era, ethnic identity was deemed irrelevant in relation to the

needs of rationalist societies and occupational and class identities were emphasized more. By globalization and in post-modern era ethnic identity has dominated the other identities and developed along with them (Esman, 2004: 197).

Globalization can be regarded as circular propagation of phenomena(Hafeznia, 2006: 66). Which have close relationship with human lifestyle in the environment (MojtahedZadeh, 2002: 263). Waters defined globalization as a social process by which the geographical limitations and social and political classes are resolved and people will be increasingly aware of the resolution of these limitations (Falx, 2002: 173). From the viewpoint of Anthony Giddens, in globalization era, localization and globalization will be reinforced simultaneously. This could be due to transformation from class-oriented political movements to identity-oriented politics. In postmodern era, politics will be formed on three levels: ethnic-local, regional and environmental; government-nation level and finally transnational level which can be also called global level (Smith, 2004: 179).

In this era, formation of networks such as international institutes, transnational TV, computer education, internet and satellite communication and as the consequence development of democracy will reduce the governments' reliance on violence (Falx, 2002: 168). This will allow the ethnic groups, especially their elites to promote their culture beyond the governmental control and provide the bedrock for ethnic movements. In such conditions, the school system will be severely dependent on TV and computer education. Some students will spend much of their time watching TV or video terminals rather than learning in schools. Moreover, ethnic minorities will usually succeed in controlling several satellite channels(Hutchinson and Smith, 2007: 428). Therefore, the process of globalization will intensify cultural diversity. In addition, formation of transnational economic systems in the format of international financial institution and transnational companies has provided a new condition for

ethnic issues of different countries. Establishment of regional unions with economic orientations is one of the signs of economic globalization which will   practically weaken the national economies and reduce the government control on ethnic areas. In this regard, ethnical groups are always trying to make their countries join these unions; for instance, enthusiasm of Kurds and Scottish people from Turkey and Britain to join EU and Québécois happiness of over Canada joining NAFTA (North America Free Trade Agreement).

Major structural alterations in the global system have reduced the cost of ethnic regionalism. At the end of Cold war and dissolution of bipolar system, cultural-ethnic disputes have been one of the common sources of political violence (Kymlicka, 1995: 1). From 1990, this has resulted in the emergence of at least 25 new governments. (Hutchinson and Smith, 2007: 35). This could be attributed to features of strategic transition this condition is the most favourable platform for emergence and rise of ethnic disputes in the international structure. Therefore, by the end of Cold War and termination of bipolar system, the scope and intensity of international crises were not decreased but their levels changed from higher international levels to lower levels. Under this condition, the ethnic groups of the world feel that to fulfil their goals and ambitions, they are no longer limited by former restrictions. That is why many experts think that the removal of bipolar system pressure and power and ideology vacancy after the dissolution of communism school and emergence of new security frameworks have paved the way for the emergence of old animosities and ethnic divergence which intensified the attempts of the ethnical groups to establish their own independent governments. (Maghsoudi, 2002: 63-4). Intervention of foreign countries in ethnic disputes is another feature of this era. These attempts are carried out in three different forms: 1. Individual countries attempts; 2. International institutes; 3. NGOs.

All these conditions have given rise to formation of a new situation for

ethnic movements, which is known as modern tribalism. This thought has originated from the idea that each ethnic group and race can be a nation and establish its own government (Delacampagne, 2003: 14). In modern tribalism, there is a great difference between former and recent Secession, which is equivalent the difference between the retarded and advanced groups. Overall, recent Secession movements are more organized and integrated that former ones are mainly acting under the label of a political party (Hutchinson and Smith, 2007, 390). Under this new condition and intensification of ethnic disputes, Prof. Goore identified more than 50 ethnic cases of violence among which, 13 cases resulted in death of more than 100000 people (Esman, 2004: 4). Therefore, to have a proper understanding of nature and mechanism of ethnic divergence, the realities of the modern era and the mechanisms giving rise to new trend of ethno-nationalism have to be considered.

2.5. Mechanisms
In this section, the theories expressing the sociological, cultural, economic, social and even psychological factors of ethnic divergence will be addressed.

Instrumentalists: Instrumentalists believe that elites provoke ethnic disputes for gaining support for their positions. Based on this idea, ethnic claims and demands are formulated and realized by the elites before the members of the ethnical group are even aware of them and the people are only allowed to accept the rules of leaders (Maghsoudi, 2001: 217). This theory relies on the role of elites in ethnic mobilization manifested in three spectra. 1. Leaders: to define and regulate a series of goals, strategies and tactics to form the political-ethnic movements, 2. Intellectuals: including a series of scholars and politicians who are responsible for providing theoretical and ideological principles to coordinate the members of ethnic groups, 3. Activists: who form the core of movement and distribute that among the population. They provide the financial and spiritual resources in

a spectrum of political acts from election activities to violence (Esman, 2004: 63-5).

The theory of Poul. R. Brass is one of the main theories, which implicitly implies that ethnic leaders and elites use cultural groups as a means for public mobilization as their support in the battle for power, wealth and credit (Smith, 2004: 81). Based on this theory, ethnic elites choose the aspects of culture, add some new values and concepts to them, and employ them as symbols (Hutchinson, 2007: 143). He believed that for the onset of alterations, 1. presence of cultural differences in a specific group, 2. elites' competition for leadership or dominance on the resources, 3. some tools for exchange of selected identity aspects with the other classes of the society, presence of mobilized population for transfer of the institutes and absence of severe class gap, or other obstacles are present in the interaction between the elites and other social classes. In this regard, the growth of the literacy rate, development of media (especially newspaper), standardization of local languages, published in these languages and access to native-language schools can be mentioned which are among the necessary factors of these types of interaction and inter-class interactions. He also found the religious elites and local education effective in facilitating the social mobilization(Ozkerimli, 2004: 137-140). Conceptual framework does not have enough attention to non-ethnic elites; it also ignores the role of external factors (Ahamdi: 200, 161).

Tradition-Innovation theory: Hobsbawm thought that nations are invented traditions of the governments. They are new historic innovations and can be regarded as the product of elites' social engineering (Hutchinson, 2007: 126). Based on this idea, the governing elites use primary education, promotion of standard language, public ceremonies and production of monuments to fight with the threats of public democracy. He believed that nations belong to late modern era and their introduction before modern territorial governments is of no use (Ozkerimli, 2004: 144-147). His insights

can be summarized as:

  1- Nationalism along with modern governments has created nations;

  2- The nations, just like nationalism, does not date back to earlier than the beginning of the 19th century;

  3- Nations and nationalism are the results of intellectual Bourgeoisie;

  4- Ethno-nationalism is different from political-civil nationalism;

  5- Nationalism and nations have done their duties and now, at the era of globalization, they are old-fashioned.

This theory can be used in explaining the emergence of nations in Europe especially in France the studied area of Hobbes. However, serious criticisms have been levelled against this idea, Smith said that: "Hobbes is among people who think that nations are created mechanically due to the social condition of modern era. People are the passive victims of elites' social programs who are trying to guide their forces. Although he accepted that language or religion-based national communities can be found in pre-modern era, he said that these communities cannot be the ancestors of nations as they lack effective historical continuation" (Smith, 2004: 113). The theory of tradition invention can be helpful in analysis of Iran's ethnic issues.

Relative deprivation: Ted Robert Gerr defined relative deprivation as a condition in which there is a serious gap between the society members' social expectations and opportunities. In this regard, he mentioned three types of values: 1. Welfare 2. Power-related and 2. Interpersonal values. Welfare values are directly related with material welfare; power-related values determine the extent of human power to influence other reaction and avoid their unwanted interference in his/her actions. Interpersonal values are our psychological satisfaction whose acquisition is possible via interaction with other people and groups (Manouchehri, 1983: 102).

In terms of the causal relation between the relative deprivation (the cause) and collective violence (the result), he mentioned the role of

aggression-based motivations. He thinks that frustration-aggression theory can explain the transformation of relative deprivation to readiness for violence (Ibid: 103). Based on failure theory, lack of basic needs' fulfilment can result in human aggression. In this regard, he recognized the psychological need of human to compensate his/her failures and weaknesses as the reason for insulting others, powerfulness and aggressions which were expressed by terms like Superiority and aggressive fear. Eric Dickson posited that if the human needs are not provided, they will be transferred to his/her unconsciousness and can result in aggression or emergence of violent movements (Maghsoudi, 2001: 201).

According to this theory, ethnic movements are the response to extensive relative deprivation including both "people" and "elites". In this regard, extensive contribution and organization will be provided for aggressive acts(Kuzo and Rouzenberg, 2009: 621). The sense of relative deprivation can intensify the gap between the ethnic groups and create an atmosphere of pessimism destroying all the chances for short-term cultural integrity for the community having the feeling of being threatened or humiliated (Miller, 2004: 144).

Domestic colonialism theory: Domestic colonialism is another theory in the field of ethno-nationalism. Its development was highly influenced by unorganized conditions of religious and racial minorities of USA and native Africans during the late 60s and beginning of 70s (Maghsoudi, 2001: 131). As the most distinguished theorists of this field, Hechter believed that ethnic integrity could be reinforced in a national society due to regional inequality between a distinguished cultural centre and its peripheral population. In such conditions, the peripheral population tries to use the culture-promoting factors as their tools for ending this dominant order or delegitimizing that. The structural challenges of the peripheral population especially when they are geographically concentrated may turn into secession demands (Ahmadi, 2000: 158). Hechter's main points are:

1- The higher the economic inequality between the populations, the more will be the probability of less-advanced community integrity; therefore, they will resist political integrity.

2- The higher the internal interaction of the central population, the more reinforced the integrity of peripheral population

3- The higher the cultural differences (in particular those relating to identity), the higher will the cultural integrity of peripheral population(Ozkerimli, 2005: 123-6).

This theory minimizes the nationalism to the economic inequality-based dissatisfactions. This is not also compatible with some realities. The examples are Basque and Catalonia in Spain which are among the most advanced regions of Spain (Ozkerimli, 2004: 128-130).

Lack of development and unbalanced development: The necessity of neutralizing the consequences of economic inequality is highly emphasized in the field of regionalism. It is today proven that over-inequality in a country will inevitably lead to political instability (Blacksell, 2006: 72-3). This factor has been also regarded as "geographical and spatial injustice"(Hafeznia, 2001: 186-7). Wallerstein believed that if the ethnic disputes are related to power and wealth, the issue of secession is very serious (Hutchinson, 2007, 383).

The theory of centre-margin is one of the theories in this regard. Based on this theory, regional unbalanced development is due to factors such as geographical and natural condition, population features, program structure, policies and direction of private sector investment, which will bring economic development for some regions, and lack of development for others (Maghsoudi, 2001: 136-8). In this theory, geographical factors include distance, resource and economic profit which guide the capitals to the centre; however, in the theory of domestic colonialism, the political and ideological factors are more profound in guiding the capitals.

Tom Niam is one of the well-known experts in this field; he believed that

nationalism is rooted in "unbalanced development" from 18th century(Ozkerimli, 2004: 113). He described formation of this phenomenon in a series of stages:

Capitalism➔ colonialism of peripheral era➔ exclusion of peripheral region elite's ➔ elite's use of people➔ referring the people to their history, culture and language➔ ethnic movements (Smith, 2004: 95).

Walker Conner rejected the belief that economic deprivation of minority groups could be the main reason for ethnic secessionism movements and emphasized psychological roots of ethno-nationalism, for instance Spain, Malaysia, Yugoslavia (Maghsoudi, 2002: 85). Apart from the drawbacks of these types of economy-based theories, unbalanced development can be employed for explanation of the lack of development in some ethnic regions which can be the cause for future ethnic movements.

Rationalistic selection: This theory says that people will enter nationalistic movements based on calculating their profits and losses (Smith, 2004, 98). As the one who brought this theory from economic discussions to the subject of nationalism, Hechter believed that members of ethnic groups will contribute to collective actions when they reach the conclusion that they can be profited. The supporter of this theory believe that ethnic movements will be created when enough number of its members agree on contributing to that. The futurists will agree only when their benefits are more than their probable losses (Ahmadi, 2000: 158). Houshang Amir Ahmadi emphasizes the importance of this theory in transforming inactive ethnic movements to active ones (Ibid, 129). Smith said that separation is usually a risky act and specific motivations such as occupational perspectives can convince middle class to follow such ideas. Even after that, separation is dependent on their perception of the opposite country is power (Smith, 2004, 99). Hechter believed that aggressive acts would be only intensified when a weak government is faced with a highly integrated nationalism (Ibid).

In this regard, Hechter considered no role for common values,

memories, symbols or feelings. This theory also fails to justify the acts of people who lose their lives to achieve the national goals. Therefore, human choice is not inevitably based on economic motivations and there exist numerous deviations in that (Smith, 2004: 100).

Imaginary society of Benedict Anderson: Anderson is point of departure that nationality and nationalism are cultural products (Ozkerimli, 2004: 175). Anderson considers nations as the imaginary political communities; this means that people read local publications, which will sociologically give them an imaginary political community (Smith, 2004, 110). From his viewpoint, this could have deep impacts on the thoughts of a nation. An American probably will not visit many of his fellow countrymen, he will never have any imagination of their activities. However, he is very sure on their existence and their "continuous, unknown and simultaneous actions" (Ozkerimli, 2004: 179). He thinks that this became possible through publication industry as it provided the opportunities for higher number of people to think about themselves and associate their modern methods with others. Anderson thinks that decline of Latin language resulted in social deterioration of Christianity. Hence, it is possible that imaginary national communities come to existence even if they do not have any practical existence. The reason could be attributed to cooperation of capitalism, publication industry and linguistic diversity (Hutchinson, 2007: 145).

This theory could be helpful in explaining the role of media in creating new ethnic identity. Although the main emphasis of this theory is on publication industry, during the globalization era, it seems that internet and satellite have more contributed in formation of imaginary communities.

Ethnic symbolization: Ethnic symbolization is one of the major theories in the field of ethnicity based emergence of nation. The main characteristic of this theory is that contrary to what has been mentioned above, in addition to changes in modern era, the ethnic root of nationalism is also important.

This theory states that nations have been established based on their ethnic roots and their emergence should be studied in their own ethnic historical context. Smith believed that most of today's nations have been created around a dominant ethnic community, which has absorbed other ethnic communities to its established government (Ozkirimli, 2004: 209-219).

The objective of ethnic symbolizers is to illuminate the symbolic heritage of the ethnic identity of pre-modern era for the current nations. They reject the principles of nation invention introduced by modernists. They claim that nations are founded based on myths, memories, values and ethnic symbols(Ibid, 201-2). In other word, ethnic symbolization includes selection, combination and recoding the values, symbols, myths, traditions and memories and adding the new elements of each generation (Smith, 2004, 32). That is why Armstrong agreed with modernists such as Habsbawm and Anderson about the tradition invention in modern era along with their historical roots (Ozkirimli, 2004: 205). It should be mentioned that the attention of ethnic symbolizers to mental elements such as values, symbols and … does not result in their ignorance of objective elements such as economy, politics and social condition. However, this idea has changed the focus from the objective items to the cultural factors (Smith, 2004: 84-86).

According to this theory, the main duty of the ethnic elites is to rediscover and realize the society, which can be conducted by a moral revolution; Smith considered several stages for ethnic group transition to nation:

1- Movement from passive and low-level compromising of a peripheral minority to active and brave political society with a unified policy;

2- Movement toward organizing a homeland and public acceptance of a territorial community with clear borders;

3- Economical solidarity of the community by controlling its resources and moving toward self-dependence in the competitive world of nations;

4- Converting the ethnic group members to legal citizens through mobilizing them for political goals and giving civil, social and political rights and responsibilities;

5- By re-composition of people, their values, myths and memories should be the focus of ethic and political interests and the new role of people should be cherished (Hutchinson, 2007: 23).

This theory is helpful for explaining the formation of ancient nations and countries and re-formation of nations, which were once known as independent countries and have required potential for creation of a new nation and country. Modernists criticize this theory and expresses that nationalists invent the myths in most of the cases. Furthermore, they ignore those myths that do not comply with their goals. There are numerous successful nationalism movements, which lacked rich ethnic history to feed their people. Moreover, traditions are not only inherited, they can be also regenerated (Ozkirimli, 2004: 224).

The above-mentioned theories are mainly sociological, economical and socio-psychological theories. In fact, they explain the emergence and survival of divergent political goals among the ethnic groups of a country. However, the required mechanisms and bedrocks have to be provided in order to fulfil these goals. It can be said that if these bedrocks are not ready, the realization of these goals will be very difficult, and sometimes impossible, in spite of their formation.   The globalization-induced environment (fast and free information circulation by internet, satellite and International institutions) and geopolitical environment (the geographical position of the ethnical group). Their geopolitical weight and support of international community, interference of foreign countries, reduction of central government geopolitical weight) and identity and political backgrounds can be mentioned in this regard. The relationship between these elements can be depicted in the following figure.
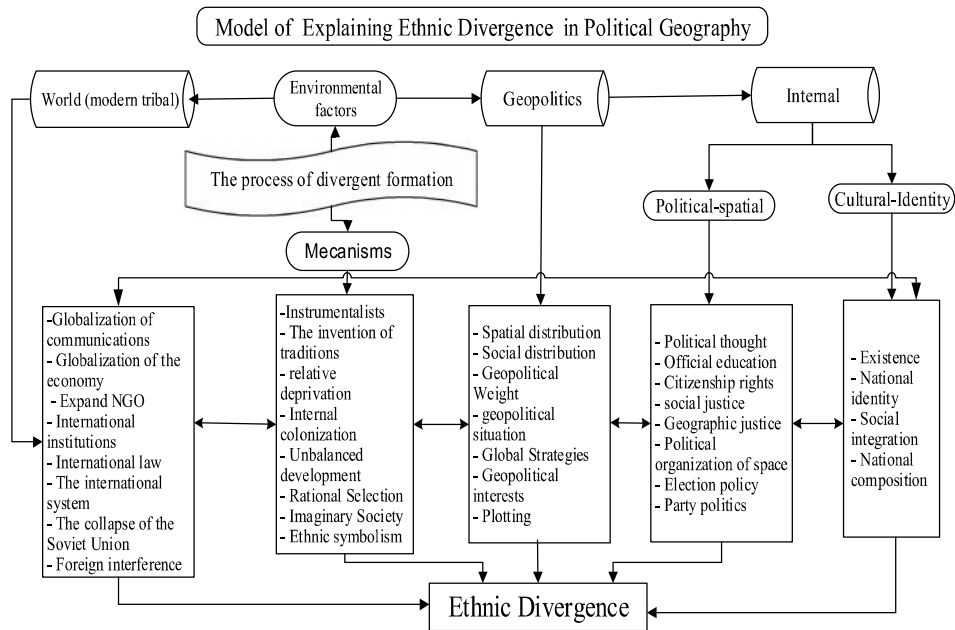
Figure1- Model of Explaining Ethnic Divergence in Political Geography, Reference: the Author 2017.

The results of this model have some major features:

1- Rejection of reductionist insight on formation of ethnic divergence;

2- Comprehensive consideration of backgrounds and mechanisms for explanation of ethnic divergence;

3- Highlighting the importance of geopolitics and political geography in explanation of ethnic divergence;

4-Providing proper conceptual framework for analysis of divergence.

3. Conclusion

Investigation of the formation of ethnic divergence has always been one of the main topics for academics and decision makers. As the analyses and explanations in this regard are mainly based on the scientific origins of the people and therefore emphasizes one aspect among several effective aspects

of ethnic divergence; they suffer from a reductionist deficiency. Hence, designing a comprehensive model for explanation of ethnic divergence sounds crucial. The presented political-spatial analytical model of ethnic groups has the distinguished characteristic that has tried to study a package of factors and variables reflected in social and political theories at various national, regional and global levels. Based on this model, the environment provides a platform for actions of ethnic divergence-forming social and political mechanisms. In other words, ethnic divergence does not occur based on ethno-nationalism mechanisms unless the environmental conditions for these mechanisms are provided. In this regard, analysis, investigation, and decision-making will not result in proper outcomes without consideration of their context (national, geopolitical and international conditions) and content (mechanisms). In this regard, avoiding reductionism and attempts for having a comprehensive insight into ethnic divergence are among the features of this model.

According to this model, ethnic divergence includes three stages: first identification and investigation of political-spatial and cultural-identity backgrounds of the countries; the second stage involves study of the geopolitical environment (near and far peripheries) and finally the third step is associated with investigation of issues such as tradition innovation, relative deprivation, ethnic elites, development and other issues. In a general, it can be said that political-spatial and cultural-identity backgrounds and geopolitical and global positions are the infrastructure and social and political mechanisms act as the superstructures in the formation and according the analysis and suggestion of solutions for such problems.

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