International Journal of
Sociology and Anthropology

Academic Journals

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International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology

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International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology

Full Length Research Paper

The effect of inter-ethnic cultural relationships on universalism in Iran

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Iran is a multi-ethnic society. The quality and quantity of relationships between ethnic groups can be regarded as one of the crucial aspects of its integration and cohesion. This paper argues that cultural relationships and exchange of ideas and values among various ethnic groups in Iran gradually leads to the formation of universal values, norms and the broadening of an intellectual viewpoint. This paper reports the results of a survey study conducted on eight ethnic groups in Iran. It illustrates that cultural relationships between ethnic groups promote universalism amongst different ethnic minorities. This study examines the hypothesis that "an increase of inter-ethnic cultural relationships leads to the development of universalism". Meanwhile, discrimination and ethnocentrism will be especially regarded as prerequisites for establishing inter-ethnic cultural relationships.

Key words: Inter-ethnic relationships, universalism, particularism, multi-ethnic society, ethnicity, intra-ethnic relationships.

INTRODUCTION

Iran is a multi-ethnic society. Ethnicity in Iran is mainly determined culturally, the quality and quantity of inter-ethnic relationships; on the other hand, can be regarded as crucial to its integration and cohesion and the other conflicts of interest between ethnic groups. In fact, the concept of social conflict is of vital importance for an understanding of social relations. In other words, social conflict increases rather than decrease in the adaptation or adjustment of particular social relationships (Coser, 1956). The power-based relationship entails power and authority, as in disputes and conflicts among members of the ethnic group. In multi-ethnic societies, the relation between interpersonal or "intra-ethnic" and inter-group or "inter-ethnic" relationships is a major indicator of assessing the degree of permeability of intraethnic territories and acceptance of the ethnic by the national community. It is evident that the more permeable the inter-ethnic territories are, the more tolerant the ethnic groups will be with each other. As a result, there will be more ways to relate the ethnic society with the societal

community, while conflict approach has different conceptualization of multi-ethnic societies. It is believed that order conflicts two sides of the issue of cohesion. Conflict can play dual role in each- society: functional or dysfunctional, depending on social structure and toleance and institutionalization of conflict in it. In a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic society, the concept of social integration and cohesion is of foremost importance. It is based on the commitment of people toward the main society (Reitz, 2009). Integration refers to the society's ability in adjusting the common goals as well as the preparation of the requirements for fulfilling them. However, social cohesion deals with the people's participation in fundamental organizations of society and how they experience the concept of satisfaction. The terms "sense of belonging" and "participation" are among the constituents of the multi-dimensional concept of integration. Social inclusion is one of the major requirements of social order in contemporary communities (Parsons, 1977; Munch, 1988).

The inter-group or inter-ethnic relationships pave the way for this social inclusion. According to Parson's concept model, the social inter-group relationship is classified into four major dimensions: exchange, power, community, and dialogue. This paper aims to demonstrate that these relationships, especially the dialogue-based ones, result in widening the scope of ethical actions, the standards of society norms, generalizing the people's emotional attachments and commitment to other ethnic groups. These are the objective conditions which result in strengthening universalism in society. Universalism, in return makes the subjective condition for the people's inclusion in inter-group relationships especially cultural ones, in general. The previous studies have illustrated that the separation of ethnic minorities from the society decreases their trust and sense of belonging on one hand and intensifies the feeling of exclusion among them on the other (Soroka et al., 2007). It is expected that with the strengthening of the four social relationships, especially inter-ethnic cultural ones, necessary conditions will be provided for commitment and respecting social norms and general social rules or "universalism". The intra-ethnic relations, on the other hand, strengthen "particularism". However, ethnocentrism usually develops a feeling of ethnic superiority and disgrace of the other ethnic groups, which is a major barrier to the creation of inter-ethnic relations and also especially to acculturation among different ethnic groups. Ethnocentrism provides subjective grounds for ethnic discrimination and conflict. It plays a major role in understanding intra-group tendencies and inter-group relationships (Neuliep and Mc Croskey, 1997: 385). The ethnocentric approach only accepts its own viewpoint toward the world (Carignan et al., 2005: 3); some researchers consider it as "the barrier to the establishment of ethnic-cultural sphere" (ibid).

Equality is also regarded as a critical variable for integration. According to Dion et al. (2009), prejudice is a cognitive tensional motive. Thus, discrimination has a negative relation with the emotional indicators of well-being which includes social inclusion, trust in people other than friends and relatives and overall life satisfaction (ibid:84). It has also been proved that the increased ethnic belonging decreases the individual's sense of belonging to the larger society (Canada) and trust in others (ibid).

Some scholars believed that the need to redefine "Iranianness" by emphasize on citizenship and rights rather than ethno-linguistic criteria (Touhidi, 2009, 320).

This paper intends to assess the effect of inter-ethnic cultural relationships on universalism among Iranian ethnic groups by relying on the results of an inter-ethnic survey conducted during 2000 to 2001.

Ethnicity and inter-ethnic relationships

Ethnic groups are nowadays identified with their cultural similarities rather than their physical characteristics, although there is doubt about the existence of a common culture in an ethnic group especially in modern societies (Tamney, 1995). There are different definitions of ethnicity. Some maintain that ethnicity or ethnic group refers to a group in a larger society with a real or imaginary common ancestry and memories of the past while enjoying a cultural focus on one or several symbolic elements such as language or religion as the defining features of their identity (Burgess, 1986; Ahmadi, 2003). The crucial fact is that the members of an ethnic group are aware of their sense of belonging to the group; an awareness that is based on their imagination of others. In other words, for the ethnic group, the concept of "us" will be understood with reference to the concept of "them". The members of an ethnic group consist of people who consider themselves like each other due to their common ancestry, either real or imaginary. This is recognized by non-members, too (Ringer and Lawless, 1989: 1). Therefore, the ethnic groups are constantly surrounded by two sets of dynamic forces: a set of internal forces leading to the stability and firmness of "we-ness", and a set of external forces leading to the establishment and identification of "they-ness". Thus, the ethnic groups are neither completely autonomous nor self-sufficient entities, but they are a part of a larger social system which has affected and shaped them. Based on this definition, eight ethnic groups, namely, Balouch, Turk, Turkman, Talesh, Fars, Arab, Lor and Kord are the major Iranian ethnic groups. Having a special cultural identity, they enjoy common cultural attributes as members of the society of Iran.

The concept of willingness to communicate (WTC) was first developed by McCroskey and Baer (1985). It is defined as the individual's tendency to start

communication with other people when he/she is free to do so (McCroskey and Richmond, 1990). Due to this, intercultural willingness to communicate (IWTC) was conceptualized by Kassing (1997) as "one's predisposition to initiate intercultural communication encounters" (p. 400).

As Rietz (2009: 21) explained that membership in ethnic groups can affect the people's attachment to society in two ways. First, the existence of a separate ethnic community affects common values, social commitments, and relationship among the social groups; it also differentiates these groups from the main community. Second, the ethnic groups' experience of inequality among members of ethnic groups prevents their participation in social common activities.

One of the proposed strategies to reduce the problem of ethnic separation and establishing modern social order is social inclusion. Social inclusion is closely related to the process of social modernization and differentiation. In the process of inclusion, social actors have the opportunity to establish a relationship and interact with each other and different groups and communities join each other. With the formation of common and overlapping memberships, groups and communities connect with each other and form a societal or universal community. Through the inclusion of groups in the total, "We" (the universal community), the grounds are provided for prioritizing the social identity over other group identities (minor "We's") such as family, neighbourhood, local, linguistic, ethnic and organizational identity, etc. Furthermore, social inclusion paves the way for expanding reciprocal social trust, and therefore, social interactions will prevail in the society more extensively and easily with a universal orientation (Chalabi, 1998: 29-30).

Regarding the different criteria suggested for integration, Kimlicka, in a study of multiculturalism, mentioned the following: acceptance of national identity, participation in national institutes, learning the formal language, and making friendships with other ethnic groups (Reitz, 2009).

One of the essential elements of social integration is increasing of network social relations. In the context of the social capital, the term "social network" refers to social connections between entities like people or groups. The theory of "weak ties" focuses on the relational aspect of the social capital. Social networks are classified according to different criteria: their level of formality, strength and diversity, horizontal/vertical, formal/informal, weak/strong, bridging/bonding and linking networks. The recent distinction between bonding/bridging social capital (Gittel and Vidal, 1998; Narayan, 1999; Putnam, 2000) refers to networks formed based on similarities among people such as age, ethnicity, education, etc. Bonding networks are concerned with negative aspects such as localism, exclusion and mistrust of outsiders (Portes and Landolt, 1996; Portes, 1998). In contrast, bridging social capital has to do with diversities and connections among social groups. As Putnam (2000) states, "bridging social capital can generate border identities and reciprocity, whereas bonding social capital bolsters our narrow selves" (p. 23). Bonding and bridging networks are used synonymously with strong and weak ties. "Weak ties" and bridging network are based on the socio-cultural differences among the members of the network while strong ties and bonding network are based on the similarities. In the context of social capital, the inter-ethnic relations are those of the weak ties and bridging, dealing with the social integration and inclusion.

By inter-ethnic relationship means social relations between members of two or several ethnic groups. This kind of relationship is an integrated set of meaningful actions in a specific context (Weber, 1978: 27). According to Weberian approach which is the foundation of the definition of social relations in this study, every actor takes into consideration other's actions while performing an action. Although social relations entail the fact that the probable meanings of the actions must be understandable for the actors, the people involved might not have the same understanding. If social relation is considered as a set of meaningful social actions, considering the AGIL schema (Parsons) as a model for differentiating various kinds of meaningful actions, it can be concluded that there exist four different social relationships. Social relationships can be used for studying inter-ethnic relationships among members of the ethnic groups. Chalabi, as a neo-Parsonian figure in Iran, puts forth a schema for social relationships consisting of four aspects that correspond to AGIL, as follows: (A) exchange-based relationships, (G) power-based relationships, (I) community-based relationships and (L) dialogue-based relationships (Chalabi, 1998: 18). While the exchange-based relationship is economic and financial by nature, such as establishing business transactions among members of the ethnic groups, the dialogue-based relationship is based on thought, like exchanging views among ethnic group members. The community-based relationship deals with feelings and emotions such as friendship and companionship among members of the ethnic groups. Finally, the power-based relationship entails power and authority, as in disputes and conflicts among members of the ethnic group (Ibid). Figure 1 shows the four social relations.

In this study, the dialogue-based relationship among ethnic groups will be examined. Any increase in this relation will expand the scope of the action. It will also result in the integration of the society by strengthening friendship and reconciliation. It is expected that it will intensify universalistic orientations. Cultural relationships between ethnic groups and their effects on the social inclusion and integration can be examined by using indicators such as density, frequency, generality, intensity,

Exchange-based			Power-based
	A	G	
	relationships		
	I	L	
Community-based			Dialogue-based

Figure 1. Chalabi's classification of social relationships.

symmetry and diversity of the groups. Due to data limitation, three indicators have been chosen: generality, intensity and symmetry. Generality of the inter-ethnic cultural relationships demonstrates the expansion of relationship or the percentage of the people involved in relationship in any ethnic group. Intensity of the inter-ethnic cultural relationships indicates frequency of the relationship. The symmetry of inter-ethnic cultural relationships denotes reciprocal of the relationships among ethnic groups.

Universalism

The concept of universalism as a form of action orientation contrasts with that of particularism. Parsons has used this contrast along with some pattern variables to make modernity understood. He maintains that modernization, especially in the political sphere, requires the superiority of universal norms over particular ones, which in turn necessitates social differentiation. Universalism is a kind of value orientation. Value orientation, according to Parsons, refers to those aspects of the actor's tendencies that bind him to obey norms, standards and certain criteria for "selection" in a specific situation, a situation selected by the individual among different "goals" and "means" (Parsons and Shills, 1951: 150). National or universal criteria and norms are preferred over ethnic or particularistic ones in universal value orientation. In other words, universalism indicates the individual's tendency and commitment toward obeying universalism. Particularism, according to Parsons, is "a need disposition on the part of actor to be guided by criteria of choice particular to his own and the object's position in an object-relationship system rather than by criteria defined in generalized terms" (ibid: 82).

The controversy between ethical universalism and relativism focuses on the debate between ethics and culture which is not a new issue and dates back to Plato. Post-modernists have also rejected pure particularism and are sensitive toward regarding diversities. Social policy is concerned with combining universalism with particularism, equality with diversity and empowerment with treatment. Babilar and Wallerstein (1991) and Robertson (1992) also point out dichotomies such as universal/local, national/international, and universalism particularism in the context of globalization. Robertson's conception of globalization requires attention on the two aspects of particularism and difference as well as universalism and similarity. Universalism and particularism are coexistent and interrelated. They offer an interpretative framework to understand the structure and different meanings of actions in multi-cultural societies and international atmospheres (Georgiou, 2005: 485).

Ethnocentrism

Ethnocentrism means to have a tendency toward considering the mental and behavioural ways of one's own group as universal criteria. Two aspects can be considered for this concept: first, the individual's tendency toward the in-group members: in the case of strong ethnocentrism, the individual will assume his own group as being better and more superior, and his own group values as universal. The second aspect of ethnocentrism is the individual's tendency toward the out-group members: in the case of strong ethnocentrism, the individual will regard outsiders as inferior, reject their values and try to maintain social distance from them (Gudykunst, 1994: 77). The crucial fact concerning ethnocentrism is the belief in the insider's superiority and excellence, which in turn entails considering outsiders as inferior. An ethnocentric will always prefer his/her own group and judge in favour of its members. According to Somner quoted in Neuliep and Mc Croskey (1997: 385), ethnocentrism always accompanies a feeling of optimism and pride toward the insiders and that of pessimism and inferiority toward the others. However, a pessimistic view toward others might encompass majority of the people, "most people do not like others and they show a feeling of fear and hostility toward them" (ibid). This attribute of ethnocentrism which always prefers the insider and judges it in his favour, results from stereotypes. These stereotypes allow the members of a group to judge about other people even with very little information (Hammond and Axelrod, 2005: 4). Ethnocentric behaviours often

occur due to the focus on the ethnic identity features such as language, dialect and religion which are the common heritage of the ethnic groups. These features demonstrate the symbolic and cultural borders of the ethnic groups. Thus, ethnocentrism helps the group's continuity by increasing integration, conformity, cooperation and loyalty (ibid: 86), although it reduces the inter-group cooperation (ibid: 82). As some researchers maintain, in ethnocentric groups, the people of the other groups are dehumanized (Navarrete and Fessler, 2006: 1). Bandura (1991) emphasizes that this dehumanization paves the way for taking violent actions toward other groups. Consequently, although ethnocentrism strengthens the loyalty and intra-ethnic relationships, it will weaken the relationship and coexistence of ethnic groups. Ethnocentrism and cultural distance are among the major barriers in the inter-cultural relationships. They will lead to contrast which brings forth negative stereotypes (Triandis, 1985: 378).

The result earlier demonstrated that ethnocentrism hinders intercultural communication (Arasaratnam and Banerjee, 2011; Goldstein and Kim, 2006) and a person's level of ethnocentrism that plays the strongest factor in intercultural interactions (Hosseini et al., 2016).

Intra-ethnic relationships

As with inter-ethnic relationships, intra-ethnic relationships are divided into four major kinds: exchange, power, community and dialogue (Chalabi, 1998). In the literature cross-cultural study, the polarization "inter-ethnic-intra-ethnic" is well paid attention to. While the intra-ethnic relationships are more dependent on the self's identity and originates from one's personal experiences, the inter-ethnic relationships are mostly based on the ethnic identities and originates from people's membership in the ethnic group. In this study, the cultural interpersonal or intra-ethnic relationships are limited to those of the relatives, friends, and neighbours. The purpose is to focus on the connection between inter-ethnic relationships with intra-ethnic ones. Dion and Phan (2009) have proposed a typology of attachments relationships based on attachment to the ethnic group and the wider society. By cross-classifying the two dimensions of minority and majority group orientations, four strategies of acculturation are proposed: (1) integration when the individual is oriented to the ethnic culture and to the larger society; (2) assimilation when orientation is towards the dominant society or culture; (3) separation when orientation is only towards the ethnic group; (4) marginalization when orientation is towards neither. This bi-dimensional model can be diagrammed as shown in Figure 2.

Ethnic injustice

Ethnic injustice is usually defined as differential behaviour

with others because of their ethnicity and ignoring the equal opportunity for the members of an ethnic group to have access to the valuable assets of a society like occupation, education, income, power and prestige (Turner, 1993: 24). The indicator of ethnic justice is to distribute the social valuable assets equally among the different ethnic groups. In this context, the feeling of ethnic justice means the members' positive evaluation of the distribution of social valuable assets and facilities among different ethnic groups. This justice evaluation occurs in the process of social comparison and every individual will compare social utilities of his/her ethnic group with those of others. The reference group plays a major role in the justice evaluation. According to different studies, an experience of ethnic discrimination strengthens the boundary and the ethnic integration. Dion and Phan (2009: 84) have examined the effect of discrimination on social inclusion and ethnic group belonging.

Hypothesis

Inter-ethnic cultural relationships increase universalism among ethnic groups whereas ethnic discrimination and ethnocentrism weaken universalism and inter-cultural relationships. Therefore, relationships among the four variables can be diagrammed as shown in the diagram of four hypotheses proposed including (Figure 3):

(1) Inter-ethnic cultural relationships increase universalism in ethnic groups,
(2) Discrimination weaken inter-cultural relationships,
(3) Ethnocentrism weaken inter-cultural relationships, and
(4) Discrimination and ethnocentrism are related together.

However, regarding various patterns of intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic relationships (the main four kinds), a question can be answered that "what typology of intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic relationships does prevail among Iranian ethnic groups"? Figure 4 indicates the typology of intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic (national) relational tendencies.

METHODOLOGY

Population and research sample

The data for this study were collected from a survey conducted in the ethnic regions of Iran in 2000-2001. The sample includes 18 year-olds plus residing in the ethnic regions under study: they belonged to the eight ethnic groups (Turk, Kord, Lor, Arab, Fars, Balouch, Turkman and Talesh).

There were no national censuses indicating the population types, geographical distribution, political, socio-economic, and linguistic situations in various ethnic environments in Iran and no reliable figures about the sizes of ethnic minorities in Iran (Amanolahi, 2005: 37; Tohidi, 2009, 299).

Four thousand and two subjects were selected following random

Parameter		Dimension 1: Attachment to the ethnic group	
		Weak	Strong
Dimension 2: Attachment to larger society	Weak	Mainstream	Pluralist
	Strong	Marginalized	Ethnic

Figure 2. Typology of attachments to ethnic groups (Dion and Phan, 2009: 92).
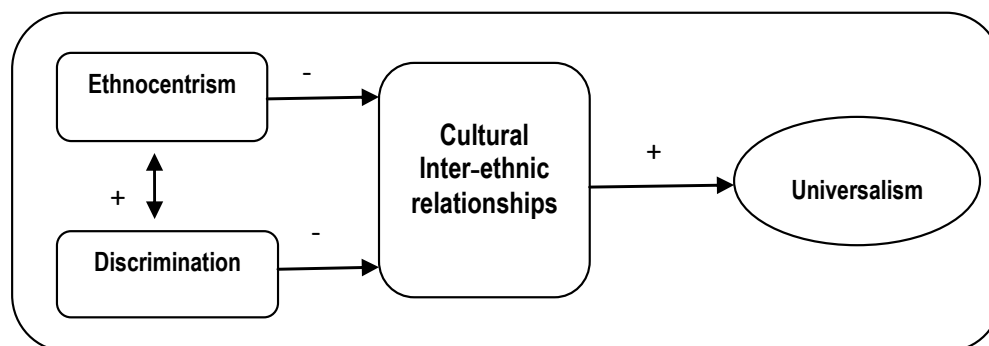
Figure 3. Analytic model.

National: strong	National: strong
Ethnic: strong	Ethnic: weak
National: weak	National: weak
Ethnic: weak	Ethnic: strong

Figure 4. Typology of relational ethnic/national tendencies.

two-cluster sampling in thirty- ethnic-regions of Iran. Table 1 indicated distribution of sample in thirty-region (city) ethnic groups that have located in fifteen provinces. Select sample includes two stages: the first stage was selection thirty cities that including centres of each ethnic group. The second was distribution of sample in city proportional to size each ethnicity in the city. As shown in Table 1, the ratio of ethnic group in the city was considered in ratio of every group in the sampling.

Data collection instrument

The questionnaire was the instrument of the study. The subjects answered the questionnaire personally.

Scale

The study focuses on five variables, namely, inter-ethnic cultural relationships, intra-ethnic cultural relationships, ethnocentrism, ethnic discrimination, and universalism. They were measured as the following. The inter-ethnic cultural relationships were measured by the question "how much do you consult with the other ethnic groups?" The statistics concerning the inter-ethnic cultural

relationships were calculated based on the scale of 0 to 365[1].

Three indices were formulated on the basis of the question as follows:

(1) Generality index (GI): Generality of inter-ethnic relationships equals the percentage of group A respondents who have cultural relationship with group B.
(2) Intensity index (II): Intensity of inter-ethnic relationships equals the average relationship of group A members with the members of other ethnic groups.
(3) Symmetry index (SI): Symmetry of inter-ethnic relationships equals reciprocal relationship of group A members with that of other ethnic groups. Reciprocity equals difference of intensity of A-B relationship compared to intensity of B-A relationship.

Intra-ethnic cultural relationships

This kind of relationship was measured by "the degree of consultation and group discussion among relatives, friends, and neighbours" by asking three questions.

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[1]Answer "no" equal to 0, "annual" is equivalent to 1, "monthly" about 12, "Weekly" = 52 and "Daily" was the equivalent of 365 days and statistics for inter-ethnic relations in terms of scale of 0 to 365 days a year respectively.

Table 1. Ethnic ratio in urban areas of sampling (2001 Population Statistics of the Statistical Center of Iran).

Province	City	Population*	Ethnic groups (%)								
			Baluch	Turk	turkaman	Talesh	Arab	Fars	Kord	Lor	etc
East Azarbyjan	Tabriz	1378935	-	80	-	-	-	15	-	-	5
West Azarbyjan	Mahabad	133324	-	55	-	-	-	10	30	-	10
	Oromieh	577307	-	-	-	-	-	-	98	-	2
Ardabil	Ardabil	412669	-	85	-	-	-	10	-	-	5
	Parsabad	81782	-	85	-	-	-	10	-	-	5
Zanjan	Zanjan	341801	-	70	-	-	-	25	-	-	5
Khozestan	Ahvaz	969843	-	-	-	-	65	15		5	15
	Shadgan	48642	-	-	-	-	85	10		5	
	Izeh	103695	-	-	-	-	75	10		10	5
Sistan Baluchestan	Iranshahr	99496	90	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
	Khash	56683	90	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
	Zahedan	552706	65	-	-	-	-	30	-	-	5
Golestan	Bandar Torkaman	45045	5	-	85	-	-	-	-	-	10
	Aghghala	27402	-	-	80	-	-	-	-	-	20
	Ghonbad	411522	-	-	85	-	-	-	-	-	10
Lorestan	Khoramabad	328544	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	85	15
	Borojerd	229541	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	85	15
	Kohdasht	85519	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	95	5
Chaharmahal	Dehdasht	49995	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	95	5
	Frsan	38422	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	90	10
Gilan	Tavalesh	260535	-	-	-	80	-	-	-	-	80
	Masal	48929	-	-	-	75	-	-	-	-	15
	Rezvanshahr	19221	-	-	-	68	-	25	-	-	7
Kermanshah	Kermanshah	784602	-	-	-	-	-	-	70	-	30
	Paveh	61918	-	-	-	-	-	-	80		20
	Islamabad	215392	-	-	-	-	-	-	85		15
Kordestan	Sannadaj	311446	-	-	-	-	-	25	60	-	15
	Saghez	131349	-	-	-	-	-	-	85	-	15
Fars	Noorabadmamasani	51668	-	-	-	-	-	80	-	-	20
Isfahan	Isfahan	1583609	-	-	-	-	-	70	-	15	15
	Total	7806265	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ratio ethnic population in total		-	9.6	30	6.3	4.2	14.4	20.9	28.4	29.7	-
Ratio ethnic sample		-	6.7	32.6	2.5	2.6	5.1	17.2	17.1	16.2	-

Ethnocentrism

This variable involved eight items, including: evaluating the ethnic language as the best one, respect for one's own ethnic group, superiority of ethnic intelligence, and ceremonies over other ethnic groups.

Ethnic discrimination

This variable was measured by five indicators dealing with the evaluation of discriminatory distribution of social facilities, industrial capitalization like establishing factories, animal husbandry and agricultural capitalization, educational capitalization such as establishing schools and universities, hygienic capitalization such as establishing hospitals and clinics, welfare and developmental capitalization like construction of streets and roads.

Universalism

This was assessed by asking five questions which entailed dilemmas of making a universal vs. particular decision such as, the situation of a police officer issuing a fine for an offender, a watchman at the examination session who ignores the student's infringement, etc. In every situation, universalism was assessed based on the preference of legal rules over ethnic expectations and considerations.

Validity and reliability

Formal validity of measures was assessed by research team. Reliability of measures was calculated by Cronbach alpha coefficient. The coefficients for universalism, ethnocentrism and ethnic discrimination are 0.86, 0.85 and 0.73, respectively.

Data limitation

The necessity of two-level analysis (individual/ethnicity) led to limitation among the possible measures of intra-ethnic relationships consisting of generality, intensity and symmetry.

Statistical analysis

Ethnic groups were regarded as the unit of analysis for the inter-ethnic relationships. To describe the data, frequencies and cross-tabulation with means and standard division were used. Also, for testing the hypotheses, Pearson correlation coefficients and multi-variants regression were applied.

The relationships between the variables were considered according to the data for the eight ethnic groups. Since, all the data concerning these ethnic groups were put into analysis; there is no report for the p-value and thus no place for statistical generalization. All the data for universalism, ethnocentrism and feeling ethnic justice were considered as attributions which are analysable at the level of both the individual and the ethnic group. This study focused on the individuals' level while separating ethnic groups from each other. But, the relational data were only analysable at the level of ethnic group. Thus, following the index construction phase, the theoretical model of the relationships among variables was analysed at the ethnic group level.

FINDINGS

The sample comprised 4002 respondents residing in 31 ethnic regions in Iran. Fifty-five percent of the sample was male; the rest were female. Their average age was 34.6 and the median of their education was senior high school. Also, 46.9% were employed, 9.6% unemployed, 4.6% retired, 12.4% students (school or university) and 26.5% housewives. The percentage of their ethnic groups was as follows: 32.87% Turks, 6.6% Balouch, 2.5% Turkman, 2.5% Talesh, 5% Arab, 17.4% Fras, 16% Kord and 16.2% Lor. As for their religion, all respondents were Muslims, with 78.7% Shiites and 21.3% Sunnites.

Inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic cultural relationships among Iranian ethnic groups

Table 2 illustrates three indexes of inter-ethnic cultural relationships among Iranian ethnic groups.
Table 2 indicates the generality and intensity of cultural relationships are maximum for the Talesh ethnic group and minimum for the Turks, respectively. Moreover, the symmetry of the cultural relationships is maximum for the Turks and minimum for the Talesh.

Table 3 includes the results of intra-ethnic cultural relations of the subjects with their relatives, friends, and neighbours in all the eight ethnic groups. The average cultural relationship is the maximum for the friends and minimum for the neighbours, respectively.

Comparison of intensity of inter/intra-ethnic cultural relationships among ethnic groups

As shown in Figure 5, there is a remarkable superiority of the intra-ethnic relationships over the inter-ethnic ones among all the ethnic groups. This superiority is maximum for the Arabs.

As stated previously, different typologies were derived from the combination of inter-ethnic relationships with the intra-ethnic ones, each of which can have different effects on universalistic tendencies in social interaction. Hence, the index of ethnic relationship was divided into three categories: weak, average, and strong. An examination of the inter/intra-ethnic relationships shows two relational patterns: it means that Turk, Balouch, Fars, Turkman and Kord ethnic groups have both weak inter- and intra-ethnic relationships, while Talesh, Arab, and Lor ethnic groups have weak inter-ethnic and medium intra-ethnic relationships. In other words, the intra-ethnic cultural interaction of Balouch, Arab, and Lor are more than those of other groups. As mentioned earlier, Phan and Berton (2009) suggested a typology of attachment including four patterns. The results of the present study indicate that only two patterns are observed in the Iranians'

Table 2. Indexes of inter-ethnic cultural relationships in Iran.

Ethnic group	Generality*	Intensity**	Symmetry***
TURK	13	12	67
BALOUCH	19	27	15
TURKAMAN	29	20	30
TALESH	33	35	14
ARAB	13	26	27
FARS	16	16	17
KORD	23	27	63
LOR	17	22	59
TOTAL	20.3	23.1	36.5

*Generality equals of percentage of each ethnic group's respondents who have cultural relationship with another group. **Intensity equals the average relationship of each ethnic members with the members of other ethnic groups. ***Symmetry of inter-ethnic relationships equals reciprocal relationship of each group members with that of other ethnic groups.

Table 3. Intra-ethnic cultural relationships in all eight Iranian ethnic groups.

Kind of relationship	No. of valid responses	Valid percentage (relationship)					Statistics	
		Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Annually	Never	Mean*	SD
Kinship	3979	25.1	23.3	26.7	12	12.9	107	150
Friends	3979	27.1	22.1	23	10.8	16.4	115	156
Neighbors	3974	16.8	14.6	19.4	14.5	34.8	71	133

*0-to-365 scale intra ethnic relationship.
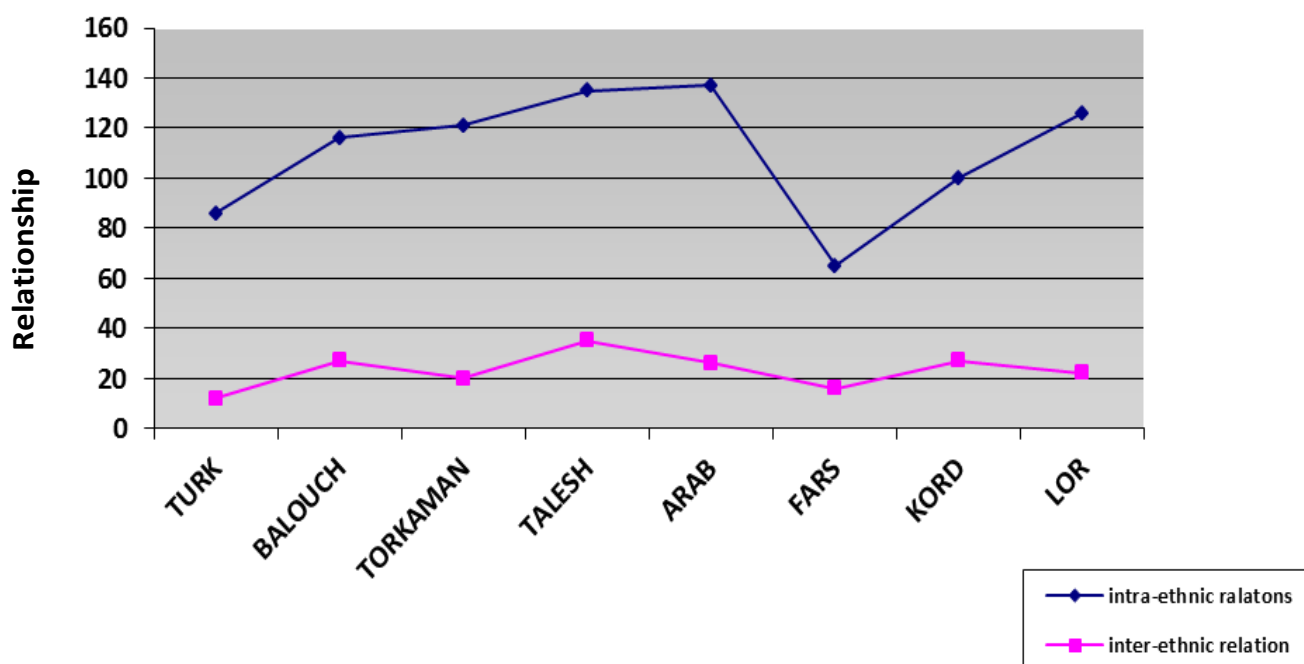
Figure 5. Intensity of inter/intra-ethnic relationship among Iranian ethnic groups.

Table 4. Typology of inter/intra-ethnic groups in Iran.

Inter-ethnic relations	Intra-ethnic relations		
	Weak*	Medium**	Strong***
Weak*	TURK/BALOUCH/FARS	TALESH/ARAB/LOR	-
Medium**	KORD/TURKAMAN	-	-
Strong ***	-	-	-

*Weak Figures on a 0 to122, ** Medium Figures on a 123 to 245 and ***Strong Figures on a up to 245 index.

Table 5. Discrimination and ethnocentrism in Iran.

Ethnicity	No. of valid responses	Figures/Ethnocentrism		No. of valid responses	Figures/Discrimination	
		Mean*	SD		Mean**	SD
TURK	1165	66	21	1278	43	25
BALOUCH	246	69	22	264	40	31
TURKAMAN	96	63	20	98	35	35
TALESH	102	63	21	102	42	23
ARAB	196	53	23	199	44	31
FARS	659	56	24	675	50	31
KORD	668	59	22	667	29	22
LOR	637	66	21	636	34	23
Total	3769	63	22	3919	40	27

*/**Ethnocentrism and discrimination index are 0 to100 scale

relationship: ethnic and marginalized patterns (Table 4).

Ethnocentrism and discrimination

Discrimination increases ethnocentrism and hinders inter-ethnic relationships. The mean and standard deviation of these two variables can be observed in Table 5.

The overall average point of discrimination is 60, the minimum and maximum of this average point is 29 and 50 for the Kord and Fars, respectively. Discrimination is more than the average for all the ethnic groups, except for the Fars obtaining the average 50. This is an evidence for the dominance of discrimination in Iran. For ethnocentrism, the average is 63 for all the respondents and all the ethnic groups obtained more than average with the Arabs having the minimum '53' and the Balouch having the maximum, 69. Although, in general, the ethnocentrism dispersion for all the respondents was low (22), the minimum belonged to the Turkmans (20), and the maximum to the Fars (24).

Universalism

The results of measuring universalism among Iranian ethnic groups (Table 6) show that the total mean is 64. However, the maximum universalism is for the Turkman

is 58 and the minimum for the Talesh is 78.

Correlations between variables

Table 7 shows the correlations between "universalism" as the dependent variable, "discrimination" and "ethnocentrism" as intermediate variables and the three aspects of "generality", "intensity" and "symmetry" of ethnic-cultural relationships as independent variables. Comparing the correlation coefficients indicates that "generality" and "intensity" correlate with universalism more than symmetry with universalism. Moreover, the obtained correlation shows that "ethnic discrimination" decreases generality, intensity, and symmetry of cultural relationships.

However, ethnocentrism decreases in the intensity of cultural relationships whereas unexpectedly increases generality and symmetry of the relations. After controlling the variable of discrimination statistically, it was observed that ethnocentrism correlated with the intensity of inter-ethnic cultural relationships (-0.15). It seems that the unexpected relationship between ethnocentrism and inter-ethnic cultural relationships is due to some outlier data. However, the hypothesis was confirmed by stronger correlation coefficients in a secondary analysis of the same data (Yousofi and Asgharpoor, 2008) in which the outlier data were omitted from the calculation. In other

Table 6. Universalism in ethnic groups.

Ethnicity	No. of valid responses	Mean*	SD	Percentiles 25	Percentiles 50	Percentiles 75
TURK	1270	65	27	45	70	85
BALOUCH	261	60	25	45	65	75
TURKAMAN	97	58	25	40	69	75
TALESH	101	74	21	60	75	90
ARAB	199	60	21	50	60	75
FARS	689	62	22	50	65	80
KORD	638	64	23	50	65	80
LOR	628	69	26	50	70	90
Total	3883	64	25	50	65	85

*Figures on a 0 to100 scale universalism.

Table 7. The correlation* of dependent, independent and intermediary variables.

Correlation	Generality	Intensity	Symmetry
Universalism	0.41	0.40	0.14
Discrimination	-0.38	-0. 27	-0.53
Ethnocentrism	0.17	-0.06	0.13
Ethnocentrism with controlling discrimination	-0.06	-0.15	-0.03

*Pearson correlation between -1 to +1. All the data concerning these ethnic groups were put into analysis, there is no report for the p-value and thus no place for statistical generalization. All the data for universalism, ethnocentrism and feeling ethnic justice were considered as attributions which are analyzable at the level of both the individual and the ethnic group.

words, as was theoretically predicted, ethnocentrism reduced the intensity and generality of the inter-ethnic cultural relationships.

The simultaneous effect of generality, intensity and symmetry of inter-ethnic cultural relationships on universalism is shown in Figure 6 using multi-variants regression.

The intensity (beta=0.44), symmetry (beta=0.39), and generality (beta=0.21) of inter-ethnic cultural relationships have positive effect on universalism. These three variables simultaneously correlate (0.55) with universalism, thus explaining 31% (R^2) of its variations. In addition, the effect of discrimination on symmetry, generality and intensity of inter-ethnic cultural relationships shows that more people regard the distribution of opportunities for all ethnic groups unfair, the less will be the symmetry, generality and intensity of inter-ethnic cultural relationships. Also, negative beta (-0.16) shows that ethnocentrism has a negative effect on the intensity of inter-ethnic cultural relationships. Moreover, ethnocentrism and discrimination reinforce one another.

DISCUSSION

In the multi-ethnic Iranian community, the proportion of inter-ethnic relationships with intra-ethnic relationships is

a major component of integration. As earlier mentioned, there are four potentialities to inter-ethnic relationship: exchange-based, power-based, community-based and dialogue-based relationships (Chalabi, 1998). In this article, dialogue-based relationship that is based on thought and exchanging views among ethnic group members were considered. The results of the comparative survey of the eight Iranian ethnic groups showed that the generality, intensity and symmetry of the inter-ethnic cultural relationships are generally low, although they were higher or lower for some ethnic pairs. Generality, intensity and symmetry of the relations are respectively 20.3, 23.1 and 36.5 on a 0 to 100 scale (Table 2). Therefore, in Iran the capacity of exchange view between ethnic group is low.

The typology of inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic relationships in Iran indicates a similarity in pattern among Iranian ethnic groups denoting a weak relationship among all eight ethnic groups. However, regarding intra-ethnic relationships, two patterns are observed: a weak intra-ethnic relationship for Turk, Balouch, Fars, Turkman and Kord ethnic groups and a stronger relationship for the Lor, Talesh and Arab ethnic groups. According to Dion and Phan (2009), fourfold integration pattern, two ethnic and marginalized patterns exist in Iran. It seems that these two are not appropriate patterns for integration and show weakness in the two aspects of social capital,
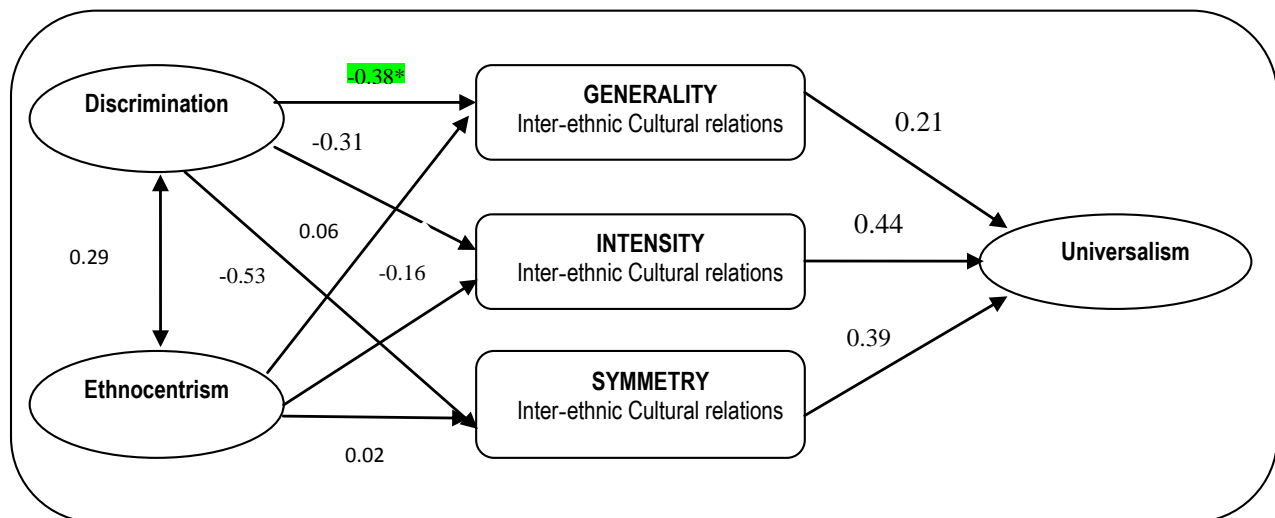
Figure 6. Model of multivariate effective factors on universalism. *Beta coefficient.

namely bridging and linking. Thus, weak ties among Iranian ethnic groups are not observed.

According to the five measures of universalism, the total mean of universalism in Iranian ethnic groups is 64 (0 to 100 scale), and no ethnic group obtained an average less than 58; whereas dispersion of universalism is high among ethnic groups. As mentioned in the research hypothesis that inter-ethnic cultural relationships strengthen universalism, the regression model confirmed that the more the intensity, generality and symmetry of cultural relationships among ethnic groups, the stronger their universalism. In other words, the dialogue-based tendencies among ethnic groups intensify relational and normative capacities. An increase in universalism will usually strengthen the tendency toward inter-ethnic (cultural) relationships.

On the other hand, discrimination is an important indicator of inter-ethnic trust and social inclusion (Reitz, 2009). This study shows that discrimination in the distribution of opportunities among ethnic groups decreases inter-cultural relationships. In addition, ethnocentrisms along with discrimination also contribute to weakening ethnic relationships. There is no doubt that a major part of qualities and quantities of inter-ethnic relationships results from the people's ethnocentrism as well as their negative or positive prejudgements toward each other. Moreover, a decrease in inter-ethnic relationships intensifies prejudgment and ethnocentrism. Generally, ethnocentrism is high for all the country's ethnic groups and yields a negative effect on inter-cultural relationships.

The results of the correlation analysis of ethnocentrism and inter-ethnic cultural relationships show that ethnocentrism affects the intensity and generality

relationship. Nevertheless, it seems natural that it is not just ethnocentrism that reduces inter-ethnic relationships; some variables such as neighbourhood and cultural homogeneity (especially linguistic and religious ones) also affect inter-ethnic relationships. Regarding ethnocentrism and other similar tendencies as the major cultural barriers for the expansion of inter-ethnic relationships, strengthening common cultural factors can pave the way for the required mental and intellectual grounds in order to strengthen universalism as well as establish and improve inter-ethnic relationships.

The results indicate different effects of social and cultural transition in Iran. Although ethnic groups in decision-making positions prefer the general criteria to specific criteria including ethnic affiliation, but at the same time high feeling of ethnocentrism and discrimination that can be used as a communication barrier and thus undermine the universalism.

RECOMMENDATION

Despite the political and social changes in Iran such as popularity of social media that can reduce physical barriers in relationships, it is important that further research on the effect of inter-ethnic relationships on universalistic tendencies be done. Especially, it is necessary that the related effects such as social, exchanges and power based relations in which there is more potential conflicts of interest be considered.

CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

The authors have not declared any conflicts of interest.

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Full Length Research Paper

History of ethnography: Straitening the records

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Scholars who hold onto the view that Morgan pioneered formal ethnography and Malinowski systematized participant observation seem to be glossing over significant information on the history of ethnography. It, obviously, does not hold to say that all the efforts before Morgan were amateurish and unsystematized, and therefore brand them pre-ethnology – for there is on record at least one pre-Morgan scholar, Joseph François Lafitau, who fulfilled our present definition of ethnography more than Morgan managed to do later. Further, some give Branislow Malinowski the credit for the systematization of participant observation (the cardinal method in ethnographic fieldwork) for his fieldwork in the Trobriand Islands from 1914 to 1918. Some records show, however, that Frank Cushing – who had finished his own fieldwork about 30 years before Malinowski's (1879 to 1884) – had done the things for which some scholars still regard Malinowski as the pioneer of scholarly participant observation. Following a critical re-reading of typical writings on the history of ethnography, the study shows that all the materials in which the history of the systematization of ethnography begins with Morgan, and in which the systematization of participant observation begins with Malinowski, need to be reviewed.

Key words: Branislow Malinowski, formalized ethnography, Frank Hamilton Cushing, Joseph François Lafitau, Lewis Henry Morgan, pioneer participant observer.

INTRODUCTION

In the history of ethnography, some scholars have attempted a chronological gradation in which all such efforts to report about human groups prior to Lewis Henry Morgan (1818 to1881) are classified as 'pre-ethnology' (Okpoko and Ezeh, 2005 to 2011). The idea is that all that were done before Morgan were amateurish because they lacked the systematized rigor of what was later, in 1834, to become known as ethnography, from the earlier term, anthropography (Cunningham, 1997).

Lots of anthropology literature present Morgan as pioneering formal ethnography with his study of some Native American groups especially the Iroquois (Kottak, 2008). Branislaw Malinowski (1922 to 1942) is also popular – especially in most of the English-speaking world whose education has been heavily influenced by the British legacy – as ground-breaking in formal ethnography for being the first to undertake participant observation in a manner that fulfilled the most advanced scientific requirements (Metcalf, 2004). This study is targeted at showing that some of the accounts of the history of ethnography especially those that present Morgan and Malinowski, in one way or another, as path-

breaking, are, in one way or another, insupportable. To do this, the study employs a critical re-reading and comparative analysis of typical materials available on the history of ethnography as a methodological process.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Ethnography is a method of social research in which the researcher immerses themselves in the subjects' social setting to perceive things as they really are in order to recount and interpret their observations in a manner that will help their readers understand what it is like to be a part of the setting studied (Bernard, 2006). Ethnography evolved in the landscape of, mostly, non-Western, traditional societies as Western scholars sought ways to more effectively investigate diverse '*other*' non-Western peoples. The ethnographic method has been evolving, though, and since the end of colonial rule across many societies, it became common to encounter researchers who use it in studies that are not necessarily targeted at a total social system. For this, a definition that holds it as an exploration of any particular social issue from the perspective of the people concerned (Lavenda and Schultz, 2010) might well capture what ethnography entails today.

   Herodotus (484 BCE to 425 BCE) is recorded to have written the first ethnography in anything like the present sense. Many early travelers, traders, missionaries, and government officials conducted informal inquiries among peoples and written about their experiences as well. All such writings before Morgan have been designated 'pre-ethnology', implying that they were non-formal and amateurish (Okpoko and Ezeh, 2005 to 2011). That typology is guided by the claim that the pre-ethnologists did not fulfill the advanced rigors of systematic research. Malinowski's work is, in that breath, often presented as path-breaking for "taking ethnography to new heights" with his participant observation among the Trobriand Islanders of Papua New-Guinea (Sanjek, 1996). It can be seen, then, that the accepted definitions of ethnography will not permit a justification of the sorts of pioneering claims made for Morgan and Malinowski in any defensible way.

A comparative look

Lafitau vis-à-vis Morgan

It has been the tradition among many anthropologists to begin the discourse on the development of formal ethnography from the nineteenth century American lawyer, Lewis Henry Morgan (1818 to 1881). Morgan used some of the techniques associated with ethnography today to investigate the kinship systems of

some Native American groups with the aim of comparing it with those of the European-Americans. His *The League of Ho-de-no-sau-nee or Iroquois,* resulted from that study (Seupin and DeCorse, 2008). But it has to be noted that Morgan was not the first to undertake an ethnographic study (in the formal, systematized sense of it) because Joseph François Lafitau is reported to have already done so, incidentally among the Iroquois, even in a more thoroughgoing fashion than Morgan managed to do about one and a half centuries later (Lafitau, 1724, 2012).

   Lafitau was a French polyglot and Jesuit missionary who trained in theology, humanities and rhetoric but is best known for his writings on the Iroquois and his comparative anthropology (Fenton, 2003). At age 31, Lafitau requested to be sent on a mission to Canada. He spent nearly six years (1712 to 1717) among the Iroquois at Kahnawake (which the French had rechristened Sault-Saint-Louis). There, he familiarized himself with Iroquois language and culture. Lafitau's two-volume work, *Moeurs des sauvages Amériquains, comparées aux moeurs des premiers temps* (*Customs of the American Indians compared with the customs of primitive times*), resulting from his Iroquois studies, was published in1724. In it, he theorized on the importance of age grading and the pulse of Iroquois politics in the town council. He also theorized on the Iroquois rules of residence, social organization, kinship and exogamy, and analyzed the importance of women in Iroquois society (Fenton, 2003).

   Lafitau began to systematize a form of ethnology that had also manifested in the works of earlier scholars such as Andre Thevet (1502 to 1520) and Marc Lescarbot (1570 to 1642) (Moore and Fenton, 1969). These early French writers had done some comparison of societies, although hugely relying on second-hand sources from merchants and missionaries; and, by referring to 'savage cultures' as being in early stages of development (Fenton, 2003), they had started advancing evolutionary views. But Lafitau departed from all the grand comparatists in his stress on the importance of describing cultures in terms of themselves (thereby making an early case for relativism). In his view "the 'savages' of the New World were men, the Iroquois were people in their own right not to be compared with the Europeans" (Moore and Fenton, 1974, 1750).

   In what has turned out to be one of the major guiding principles of participant observation today, Lafitau had pointed out that customs could only be understood in the original language of those who practised them; and for this, he had learnt the Iroquois language (Fenton, 2003). Having earlier theorized on Iroquois kinship rules, he had pointed out the difference between Iroquois classificatory system of kinship nomenclature from the French, which was descriptive (although he is not recorded to have particularly used"classificatory" and "descriptive"), more than a century before Morgan (who maynot have read

Lafitau's Iroquois work that was only translated to English in 1974 (Moore and Fenton, 1969) took it up.

Largely ignored by the Enlightenment scholars, Lafitau's reputation was to be rehabilitated in the last century especially by French scholars. In late 1930s, Arnold Van Gennep critically appraised Lafitau and his period, applauding his systematic sense and pointing to him as the first of the modern ethnographers for his work on the Iroquois (Fenton, 2003). Similarly, Gilbert Chinard (1913, cited in Moore and Fenton 1969) comments on Lafitau's use of the comparative method in the field of anthropology. Cunningham (1997) refers to Lafitau's description of the Iroquois as the "first modern field ethnography".

It is interesting that Lafitau, who preceded Morgan by more than a century, was not attended with much of the limitations associated with the latter. Morgan did not live among the Iroquois in an extensive way an ethnographer who wanted to report the group from their point of view would; Lafitau did. Morgan did not learn Iroquois language; Lafitau did. Morgan collected much of his data second-hand; Lafitau did all first-hand.

Morgan had relied on a native Iroquois interpreter, Ely Parker. Although collecting some of the data himself, he also relied heavily on secondary sources– such as information from missionaries and state bureaucrats – for not just the publication mentioned above but for his other later works (Bernard, 2006; Ezeh, 2010). Morgan worked hard as one of the pioneer anthropologists, but he did not go far enough in terms of building on the methods charted by earlier ethnographers such as Lafitau. Later anthropologists however showed that they realised the need to do so. What Lafitau and Morgan had in common, in any case, is that none formally trained as an ethnographer; but they would not have, since anthropology was not yet established as a full-fledged methodology taught course in their times.

Cushing vis-à-vis Malinowski

Lafitau's form of ethnography, later to be known as participant observation, continued to advance from the efforts of an American, Frank Hamilton Cushing. Cushing, whom Cunningham (1997) identified as "the first participant-observer in folklore and anthropology", lived in a Zuñi pueblo from 1879 to 1884 to study that American Indian group of western New Mexico. It is noted that Cushing went into the locus of his study with the intention to study the group. As Lindsay (1910) records it, Lafitau had also requested his superiors to post him to Sault-Saint-Louis (originally Kahnawake), the land of the Iroquois near Quebec, having got interested in that group from what he read of them in reports of other travelers, missionaries and merchants. So, it follows to also say

that scholarly interest in the Iroquois was Lafitau's primary motivation for going to live among them.

Cushing published the results of his research, *Zuñi Fetishes*, in 1883 (Green, 1978). Cunningham (1997) notes that that publication saw Cushing bringing in three innovations to ethnography:

1. Learning the language of the host society
2. Living among them and
3. Besides working with resident informants, he also made first-hand observation of everyday life in the society for a period of five years.

Meanwhile, Lafitau is recorded to have done all these among the Iroquois for six years. It could only be argued that Cushing's ethnography might have been deeper in terms of level of integration. Since Lafitau lived among the Iroquois as a Christian missionary, it could be said (although it does not necessarily follow) that he might not have entered indigenous social networks as Cushing would have managed to. Indeed, so deeply did Cushing enter the Zuñi social networks that he got initiated into one of their warrior cults (Green et al., 1990; Metcalf, 2005). His colleagues from the Smithsonian Museum in Washington DC were initially shocked that he could do such a thing. It was only later that the director of the Museum saw the value of Cushing's work and became his sponsor (Barnard, 2004). The English churchman, George Basden, was later to take after Cushing in terms of gaining initiation into a religious cult among the Igbo of the Anambra axis in southeast Nigeria where he did an ethnographic study in the early twentieth century (Basden 1983). In the 1990s, John McCall, an American anthropologist, was also to achieve such initiation into a masquerade secret cult among the Ohafia, another Igbo subgroup (McCall, 2000).

Some writers hold that Malinowski took the ethnographic technique of participant observation to new heights through his study of the Trobriand Islanders. He had changed from his original discipline, physics, to anthropology in 1910 and began his fieldwork for a PhD in anthropology among the Trobrianders of Papua New Guinea, east of New Guinea, at the onset of WWI (Eriksen, 2004). According to Sanjek (1996), Malinowski liked to imply that his discoveries resulted from unique circumstances, so increasing his own originality. At the outbreak of WWI, Malinowski was in Australia to attend a conference with his supervisor, C. G. Seligman. Being from Poland, he was therefore an Austrian subject and so was on enemy territory because Australia was a British colony at the time, and Britain and Austria were in opposing alliances. Short of being taken prisoner, his suggestion to be allowed to go and take up his fieldwork in the Trobriand Islands was granted by the authorities (Eriksen, 2004).

Comparing Malinowski with Cushing, Sanjek (1996) notes that Malinowski was better in his 'ground-breaking' Trobriand Island fieldwork of 1914-18. Not only did he learn the language, Sanjek explains, but he more actively entered the scenes of daily life and made the speech in action he heard and recorded there the basis for his ethnography. Moreover, continues Sanjek, 1996 he maintained detailed field notes that he analyzed topically while still in the field, and constantly reread to plan further research activities. Malinowski (1984: xvi) himself describes his method as follows:

The main field of research was in one district, that of the Trobriand Islands. I have lived in that one archipelago for about two years in the course of three expeditions to New Guinea, during which time I naturally acquired a thorough knowledge of the language. I did my work entirely alone, living for the greater part of the time right in the villages. I therefore had constantly the daily life of the natives before my eyes, while accidental, dramatic occurrences: deaths, quarrels, village brawls, public and ceremonial events, could not escape my notice.

Sanjek referred to Malinowski as a better participant observer than Cushing, but the basis for that conclusion does not seem to be clear-cut. It is on the basis of the method here described that Malinowski is identified as the path-breaking participant observer. Malinowski is recorded to have taken up ordinary workaday residence among the Trobrianders for four years, learning their language and making first-hand observations of their everyday life. Cushing is also reported to have taken up workaday life in a typical Zuñi pueblo in that Mexican mountain-top community. He had lived there, for five years, had learnt their language and had entered the network of their ordinary social life to the extent that he got initiated as a priest to one of their deities. He also made elaborate field notes (Barnard, 2004).

Malinowski used the first-hand data he collected through a painstaking ethnography to situate functionalism as a social theory. That is also one of the basis upon which his efforts are said to be path-breaking (Haralambos and Holborn, 2015). But functionalist thinking – whereby parts of a social system are analyzed with respect to their effects on the whole system – predated Malinowski by several centuries. In Europe, organismic analogy set off from antique Greek philosophy which had borrowed its more pristine form from ancient Egypt. It appeared in the writings of Ibn Khaldun (1332 to 1406) and later featured in Montesquieuian jurisprudential writings in 1748 (Ritzer, 2012). It was Auguste Comte (1798 to 1857) who reintroduced it more explicitly into sociological studies in Europe (Giddens, 2009). Herbert Spencer (1820 to 1903) then converted it into an explicit mode of functionalist analysis (Ritzer,

2012). Before Malinowski, Emile Durkheim (1858 to 1917) had gone on to situate functionalism with ethnographic data that he collected among the Arunta people in Australia (Haralambos and Holborn, 2015). Durkheim did an ethnographic study of the Arunta, an aboriginal Australian group, describing how their religion *functioned* to create and maintain social solidarity. What could be said of Malinowski is that his efforts were more elaborate, demonstrating how different domains of the Trobrianders' social life were working in concert to maintain the whole social system in equilibrium. But, as we see, nothing seems to be really path-breaking about his efforts.

Further, some writers present relativism in anthropology in a way that suggests that it was Malinowski that exposed its import in social discourses (Okpoko and Ezeh, 2005 to 2011). However, in his *Moeurs des sauvages Amériquains, comparées aux moeurs des premiers temps* first published in 1724, Lafitau had noted – against the grain of the evolutionary paradigm in his time – that "the Iroquois were people in their own right", emphasizing that every social system should be considered in its own right (Moore and Fenton, 1974). Through his works, Cushing also sought to highlight that every group had cultural resources sufficient for them (Green, 1978). Relatively, Malinowski held that every culture should be judged in its own right, and that the social researcher should depend neither on the standards of other societies nor on histories that lack coeval evidence but on records produced on social systems that had been investigated as is (Bernard, 2006). But, as we have seen, he was by no means the first to demonstrate that scholars should allow relativism to guide their practice.

Conclusions

For his study among some Native American groups, Lewis Henry Morgan is credited in some circles with being the first to do a formal, systematized ethnography. But available records so far show that the French man, Joseph-François Lafitau, was the first to undertake systematized ethnography, having studied the Iroquois with ethnographic methods that were – even in today'sterms – evidently more thoroughgoing than Morgan's. Some writers hold that Branislow Malinowski should take the credit for the systematization of participant observation (the cardinal method in ethnographic fieldwork) – he did his 'pioneering' study from 1914 to 1918. However, some records show that Cushing, who had finished his own fieldwork about 30 years (1879-1884) before Malinowski's, had done the things for which some scholars regarded the latter as having broken the path to systematized participant observation.

Evidently, there is a lack of agreement in the history of ethnography, in terms of who pioneered what. If entering targets' social life, learning their language and observing them from the inside in order to report about them from an insider's view point defines participant observation, then Joseph François Lafitau (1681-1746) is, from available records, the arguable pioneer. If we say a solely scholarly status must be part of the criteria and then disqualify him because of his missionary status, then that credit will go to Frank Cushing (1857 to 1900). If we say that theorizing with facts garnered from the ethnographic experience must be part of the criteria for determining that pioneering status, then it, again, goes Lafitau who used his observations to theorize on the Iroquois rules of residence, kinship and exogamy, and analyzed the importance of women in Iroquois society.

If using observed data to erect 'grand theory' is to be part of our criteria for determining that pioneering status, then the credit may go to Morgan for his evolutionary writings. But given that Morgan did not undertake participant observation, we may give that credit to Emile Durkheim for being the first to use scholarly participant observation to situate a functionalist analysis of how the religion of the Arunta Aborigines of Australia helped to create and maintain social solidarity and equilibrium in their society (his study was published as *The elementary forms of the religious life* in 1912).

This study attempted here to show that those who hold onto the notion that Morgan pioneered formal ethnography and Malinowski pioneered formal, systematized participant observation seem to be glossing over significant information on the history of ethnography. We have seen that it does not hold to say that all the efforts before Morgan were amateurish and unsystematized, and therefore brand them pre-ethnology – at least we have seen one pre-Morgan effort that fulfilled our present definition of ethnography more than what Morgan managed to do. The point of this paper is that all the materials in which the history of the systematization of ethnography begins with Morgan, in which the systematization of participant observation begins with Malinowski, need to be revised.

CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

The author has not declared any conflict of interests.

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