

Demographic and Social Analysis of Minorities in the Islamic Republic: The Visibility Question

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Abstract

The starting point of this study is the Huntington's (1996) notion arguing that western ethno-religious minorities in the Islamic states are more discriminated against than Islamic minorities in western states. While the status of Muslim minorities in the western settings has been almost sufficiently studied, there is still little in the existing literature to explore the status of religious minorities in the Islamic settings. The present study has contributed to filling this research gap. The field of this study is the Islamic Republic of Iran which holds the world's largest Shi'a Muslim population. It is also the home for some religious minorities including Sunnis, Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians. This study has revealed how these religious minorities are represented by the educational system in this Islamic setting on which the authorities have had an absolute power particularly upon the 1978 Islamic Revolution when the western-oriented Shah monarchy was replaced by an Islamic regime. In sum, the research findings of this study focusing on educational resources identified not only as 'opportunity' and 'reform' but also as 'a tool of democracy' (UNESCO 2004) emphasize the underlying conclusion that this Islamic setting still has a long way to go in order to meet democratically the minorities' visibility from a socio-demographic perspective.

Key words: minorities, visibility question, representation, ethno-religious minorities, Huntington, Islamic republic of Iran, socio-demographic perspective.

Introduction and Literature

The underlying idea to build up the framework of this study came from Huntington's (1996) notion arguing that western ethno-religious minorities in the Islamic states are more discriminated against than Islamic minorities in western states. Is he really right? In fact, this question mark has become the starting point for the present study. The status of Muslim minorities in the western and non-Islamic settings has received overwhelming attention by researches as there is a large body of literature with specific focus on this part of the coin. How about the other side of the coin? In fact, there is still little in the existing literature to give specific attention to the status of religious minorities in the Islamic settings and further studies are required to provide research-based evidence to deal with this research gap.

As discussed in the next section, the field of the present study is the Muslim-majority country of Iran. It is worthwhile to state that another Muslim-majority country in which religious minorities have received a relatively considerable attention in the existing literature is Pakistan. For instance, in a recent study on *Religious Minorities in Pakistan*, Fuchs and Fuchs (2020: 67) have documented that “minority identities by their very existence complicate debates about the place of religious difference in a liberal political framework, and challenge processes of nation-building that primarily or even just rhetorically rely on narratives of religious belonging”. In addition, there are a few other studies in the existing literature focusing on religious minorities in the Islamic settings including a comparative study of demographic, social and economic data on Muslim minority and majority countries (Abedin 1989), a study on non-Muslims in the Islamic state: Majority rule and minority rights (Berween 2006), and another study on non-Muslim minorities in

an Islamic state (Rahman 2007). According to these studies in the existing literature, although an Islamic model has been argued as ideal for governing multi-religious, multi-cultural, and multi-ideological societies in terms of the principles of majority rule and minority rights, this still remain as the ultimate question: who should govern? and how? (Berween 2006:91). In a more recent study on *Religious Freedom in Pakistan: A Case Study of Religious Minorities*, (Mehfooz 2021), while it has been found that both the Constitution of Pakistan and Islam guarantee religious freedom to the country's religious minorities, still some Muslim clerics seem to be attempting to deny religious freedom to other faiths in Pakistan. However, the existing literature still lacks substantially fresh research finding to address the place of religious minorities in the Muslim-majority contexts with specific reference to the role of the Islamic authorities' official mechanisms such as educational system, religious institutions, state's communications channels of Radio, TV, newspapers, etc. Accordingly, the present study is responding to this scientific call and contributes to filling this research gap in the existing literature and contemporary knowledge.

Theoretical Backgrounds

This paper presents research-based evidence about the association between educational institutions and religious socialization with specific reference to the representation of religious minorities in the Islamic state through its educational system. According to social scientists and sociologists, the process of socialization is employed in order to protect social unity and group superiority. Berger (1967, 126), for instance, asserted that "the modern world is defined by large numbers of groups competing with each other for control over the process of socialization". In more recent years, the process of socialization has been recognized as a "strategy" which a society

or a group employs in order “to transform the characteristics of the newcomers, so that it can admit them with the confidence that their behaviour will not endanger group unity” (Plus 2007, 253). It has also been documented in the literature that the important influence of family on the religious socialization of children is closely associated with the official education of schools because religious socialization is “a process of education”. More specifically, the key role of educational institutions, in particular school and its educational materials, has been substantially emphasized in the socialization theory (*e.g.*, Britton and Lumpkin 1977; Arbuthnot 1984; Bender and Leone 1989; Taylor 2003; Lee and Collins 2008, 2009; Foroutan 2012, 2021). For instance, it has been theorized that children’s “social self” is shaped by language and interaction (Mead 1934).

Moreover, the literature identifies the educational system as the first official agent and one of the most powerful engines of socialization (see Britton and Lumpkin 1977; Arbuthnot 1984; Bender and Leone 1989; Taylor 2003; Lee and Collins 2008, Foroutan 2017, 2019). Since educational textbooks “present a microcosm of ideologies, values, and beliefs from the dominant culture” (Taylor 2003, 301), it is important to know how various religious minorities are represented in these vital sources and whether our children are democratically socialized towards religious minorities through these official educational materials. These research questions are particularly relevant for the present research because it took place in an Islamic setting where religion traditionally plays a critical role in society and Islam dominates as the state religion detailed in the following section.

Research Questions

This section specifies more clearly the key research questions considered to be focused and examined in the present analysis. Accordingly, the research questions are detailed below:

- The starting research question of this analysis, as noted before, relies on Huntington's (1996) notion arguing that western ethno-religious minorities in the Islamic states are more discriminated against than Islamic minorities in western states. Is this really right on the basis of the new and fresh research-based evidence?
- While Muslim minorities in the western and non-Islamic contexts have been sufficiently studied, how about the other side of the coin? In other words, how have religious minorities been treated and represented in the Islamic settings?
- More specifically, due to the vital role of educational system on socialization process from childhood, it is crucially important to explore: (1) whether and how well are our children democratically socialized towards religious minorities? (2) How various religious minorities are treated and represented in the educational system of the Islamic authorities?

Moreover, it is worthwhile to emphasize the fact that the research questions highlighted above tend to be overwhelmingly more important and appropriate to be addressed and examined in the context of this field of study. This is due to the fact that the present research takes place in an Islamic setting where not only religion traditionally plays a critical role in the society and Islam dominates as the state religion, but also because the socialization mechanisms particularly education system are substantially influenced and operated by the Islamic authorities upon the 1979 Islamic Revolution, as detailed in the following section.

The Field of Study

The field of this study is the Islamic Republic of Iran which is largely a Muslim-dominated country and holds the largest Shi'a Muslim population in the world. Its major religious minorities include Sunni, Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians. Table 1 presents Iran's population by religious affiliation in 2011 and the latest census in 2016. In addition, the present analysis focuses on its educational resources that are recognized as the first official agent of and one of the most powerful engines of socialization process. The educational system of Iranian schools comprises of three major levels and covers eleven grades: five for primary schools and three each for intermediate and high schools (see Table 2).

It is vitally important to note that these educational resources are usually the sole materials of schools and The Ministry of Education (TME) has the authority and supervision over the whole process of producing these textbooks. This process begins from the selection and appointment of the textbooks' authors to the publication and distribution of the textbooks throughout the country. Moreover, the TEM has the authority, partly through its screening committee (so-called *Edarehe Ghozinesh*) to make decisions regarding the recruitment of teachers. These two strategies (i.e. the authority and supervision both on textbooks' authors and on school teachers) are mainly taken in order to ensure that the state's religious considerations and preferences are properly met by the educational system.

Furthermore, religion traditionally has played a vital role in the Iranian society. However, since the 1979 Islamic Revolution in particular, the country has been entirely governed by an Islamic regime that has enforced the dominance of religion. In turn, the dominance of religion has been entirely represented and reflected by the educational system. For instance, other studies conducted in this Islamic context (Foroutan 2012, 2019, 2020) have revealed that the most prevalent finding was the ubiquitous presence of the terms “religion” and “God” throughout the educational materials. This was a dominant observation in both “religious” and “other” textbooks of all school levels (that is, primary, intermediate, high school levels). Similar results demonstrated the predominance of religious names in the textbooks examined. Although this was expected in the “religious textbooks”, it was also evident in “other textbooks,” in which more than half of all names are of a religious nature (Foroutan 2017, 2021). As a result, all of the issues discussed briefly above echo the key fact that not only do these educational materials have the potential to play an exceptional role in children’s socialization process, but more importantly they provide an opportunity through which the state’s interpretations on a wide range of important issues, including minorities issues, can be explored. As such exploration is the underlying aim of the present study.

Table 1: Religious affiliation of population in the Islamic Republic of Iran in 2011 and 2016

| Religious affiliation | 2011 | | 2016 | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|---------------|-------------------|---------------|
| | Population | % | Population | % |
| Islam | 74,682,938 | 99.38 | 79,598,054 | 99.59 |
| Christianity | 117,704 | 0.16 | 130,158 | 0.16 |
| Judaism | 8,756 | 0.01 | 9,826 | 0.01 |
| Zoroastrianism | 25,271 | 0.03 | 23,109 | 0.03 |
| Others | 49,101 | 0.07 | 40,551 | 0.05 |
| Not stated | 265,899 | 0.35 | 124,572 | 0.15 |
| Total | 75,149,669 | 100.00 | 79,926,270 | 100.00 |

Source: Statistical Census of Iran (SCI): *A Selection of the Results of the 2011 and 2016 Population and Housing Census*.

Research Data

As briefly mentioned before, the research evidence of this paper is based on a study focusing on the educational system of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The educational system of Iranian schools comprises of three major levels: Primary, Intermediate, and High schools. In both Primary and Intermediate levels, all textbooks have been included in this analysis: containing 36 and 37 textbooks respectively ($n=N$). In the level of High school, since there are various disciplines consisting of a wide range of textbooks, a sample of textbooks in this level was selected. The sample includes 19 textbooks which are commonly used in various disciplines of High school. Accordingly, this analysis includes, in total, 92 textbooks. It is critically important to stress the fact that these school-textbooks are substantially widespread as standard and compulsory educational resources and are used in all schools throughout the country. This evidently echoes

the exceptional role that these educational materials can potentially play in the socialization process. Due to the central focus of this paper on religion, the textbooks in this analysis have been classified into two major categories: ‘religious textbooks’, and ‘other textbooks’. The former includes textbooks entitled ‘Religious Education’ (*Talimate Dini*), ‘Holy Gifts’ (*Hedyehaye Asmani*), Religion and Life (*Din va Zendegi*), and ‘Teaching Quran’ (*Amozeshe Ghoran*). The latter refers to all other textbooks included in this analysis. Table 2 provides detailed information on the title and number of these school-textbooks by school levels included in the present analysis. Appendix 1 provides further details regarding the title and number of the textbooks by school levels (i.e. Primary, Intermediate, and High schools).

Table 2: Number of textbooks included in this analysis by school level, type of textbooks, educational grades

| School levels & Educational grades | “Religious textbooks” | “Other textbooks” | Total |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------|
| Primary school level | 13 | 23 | 36 |
| Grade 1 | 1 | 4 | 5 |
| Grade 2 | 3 | 4 | 7 |
| Grade 3 | 3 | 5 | 8 |
| Grade 4 | 3 | 5 | 8 |
| Grade 5 | 3 | 5 | 8 |
| Intermediate school level | 6 | 31 | 37 |
| Grade 1 | 2 | 10 | 12 |
| Grade 2 | 2 | 10 | 12 |
| Grade 3 | 2 | 11 | 13 |
| High school level | 3 | 16 | 19 |
| Grade 1 | 1 | 4 | 5 |
| Grade 2 | 1 | 5 | 6 |
| Grade 3 | 1 | 7 | 8 |
| Total | 22 | 70 | 92 |

Research Method

Methodologically, this study uses the method of content analysis, which has been identified as a strategy for collecting and analyzing qualitative data through the use of an objective coding scheme (Berg 2001; Taylor 2003). The method of content analysis can be used in two ways: latent content and manifest content. The former is mainly based on the interpretive reading of the researcher who attempts to understand ‘the symbolic meaning of the data in order to uncover its deep structural meaning’ (Taylor 2003: 303). The latter refers to the visible and countable elements in the books or other instruments of social communication (such as television, radio, and cinema); for instance, pictures and names of men and women or images identifying gender roles, which are countable as they are physically present in the books.

The present study uses the manifest content analysis method. It is worthwhile to mention that the important impact of pictures in textbooks has been documented in previous studies. As Low and Sherrard (1999:311) explained, this importance lies in the fact that ‘readers assume that they [photographs] are objective slices of reality, thus giving the photographs authority and allure... Photographs can thus carry connotations, be they intentional or not, never stated in the text’. This tends to be more applicable to younger audiences. Accordingly, this methodological advantage has been considered in the present analysis which deals with children and students in school-ages.

Research Findings

This section highlights the major results of this study which are based on several research strategies in order to approach its key objectives outlined above. Giving specific focus to the characteristics associated with the religion of Islam, this discussion includes the following religious characteristics: the world's major religions (Islam, Christianity, and Judaism), Prophets (Prophet Mohammad and other Prophets), Holy books (Quran and other holy books), and Islamic sects (Shiite and Sunni). Further, the representation of these main religious characteristics will be discussed in terms of two major types of books ('religious textbooks' and 'other textbooks'), educational grades, and school levels (Primary, Intermediate, and High school). The discussion of this section is based on the results of this analysis illustrated in Figures 1, 2, and 3.

1. Main Religions: Islam, Christianity, Judaism

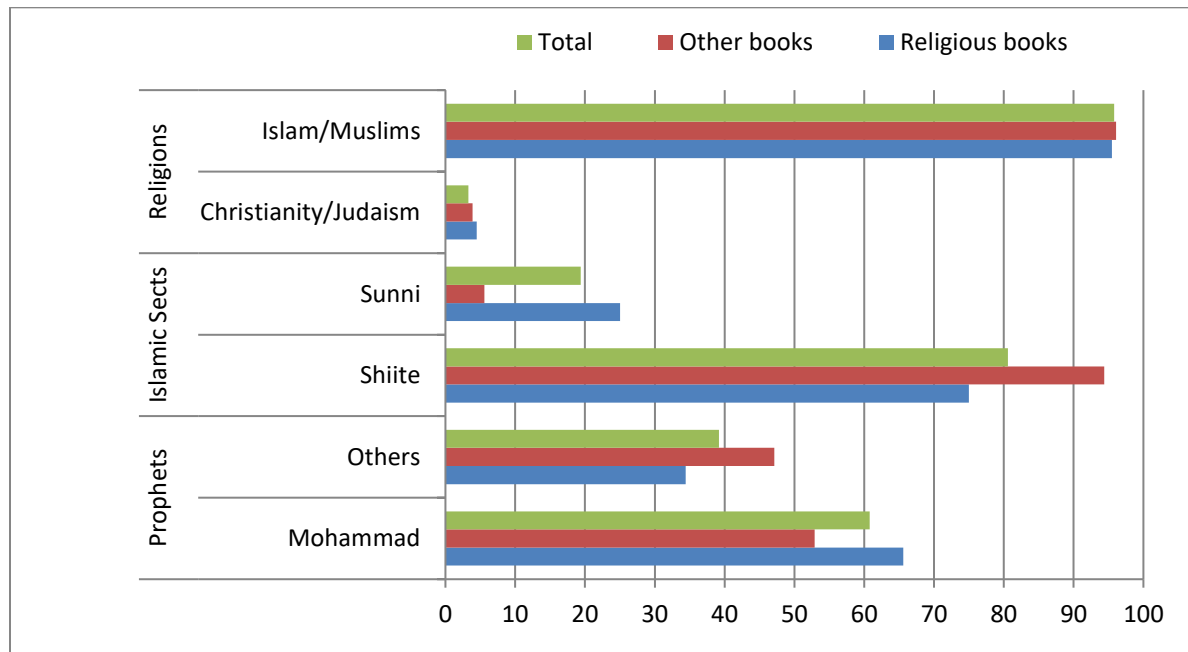
The discussion on the findings of this research strategy begins with the representation of the three major religions in the school-textbooks of this study: Islam, Christianity, and Judaism (it should be mentioned that this analysis also includes other relevant words for each of these religions such as Islamic, Muslim, Christian, and Jewish and so on). Before moving forward to highlight these research findings, it is worthwhile to mention that according to the latest population census of Iran in 2016, there are 130,158 Christians and 9,826 Jewish in Iran. Table 1 provides further details regarding the religious affiliation of population in Iran in 2011 and 2016. The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran recognizes religious minorities such as Christians and Jewish (as well as Zoroastrians and Sunnis). How these religions have been represented in the educational resources

of this Islamic setting? The results of this analysis illustrated in Figure 1 show that the words related to the 'religion of Islam' are overwhelmingly more represented than those related to the 'religions of Christianity and Judaism': 96 per cent and 4 per cent, respectively. This pattern applies both to 'religious textbooks' and to 'other textbooks'. This means that the presence of the religion of Islam, relative to the two other religions, throughout all textbooks is so substantial that the differences related to the representation of the religion of Islam in these two main sorts of textbooks are negligible.

2. Main Islamic Sects: Shiite and Sunni

In addition, the results of this analysis illustrated in Figure 1 indicate how frequently the two major sects of Islam (Shiite and Sunni) have been represented in the textbooks. According to this Figure, of total frequency of these two Islamic sects in the textbooks, about a quarter is allocated to Sunni and the remaining majority to Shiite. While the substantial dominance of Shiite remains across all the textbooks, the dominance varies in 'religious textbooks' and 'other textbooks': approximately 75 and 95 per cent, respectively.

Figure 1: Representation of main characteristics of religion of Islam and other religions in the textbooks



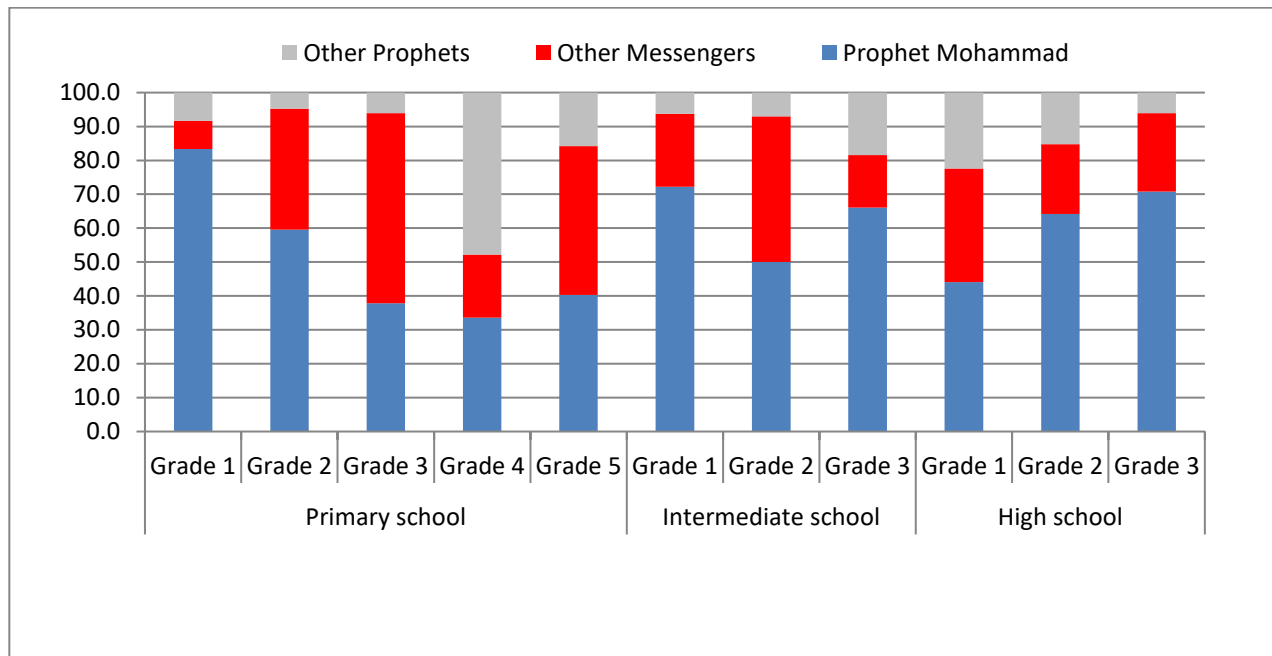
Notes: (1) In this analysis, ‘Religious books’ include books entitled Religious Education (*Talimete Dini*), Holy Gifts (*Hedyehaye Asmani*), and Teaching Quran (*Amozeshe Ghoran*), and Religion & Life (*Din va Zendegi*). Also, ‘Other books’ refers to all other textbooks included in analysis. (2) See Appendix 1 for information about the title and number of textbooks included in this analysis by school levels. (3) Also, Appendix 2 presents full details regarding the frequency distribution of the characteristics included in this Figure. (4) Prophets in this Figure are classified into two main groups: Prophet Mohammad, Others. The latter includes all other Prophets and Messengers as defined in Figure 2.

3. The Prophet Mohammad and Other Prophets

The results of this analysis illustrated in Figure 1 also show that the Prophets have been evidently represented in different ways. According to this Figure, of total frequency stating the names of prophets in the textbooks, more than half is devoted to Prophet Mohammad (60 per cent) and the remaining is allocated to all other Prophets. Further results of this analysis regarding the representation of Prophets are indicated in Figure 2. Here, Prophets are classified into three categories: ‘Prophet Mohammad’, ‘Other Messengers’, and ‘Other Prophets’. It should be noted that ‘Messengers’ (*Rasul* or *Ule al Azm*) refers to five special Prophets who have been sent holy books,

which include the Prophets Nuh (Noah), Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammad. The first four are considered as 'Other Messengers' in this analysis. 'Other Prophets' refers to all other Prophets (so-called '*Nabi*') to whom holy book has not been sent. This, for example, includes such Prophets as Aaron (Haroon), Ismael, Yusuf (Joseph), and Yaghoob (Jacob). Figure 2 shows the results of this analysis regarding the representation of Prophets by educational grades and school levels. It is evident that the representation is closely associated with educational grades. This tends to be a more evident observation in Primary school-textbooks in which there is a reverse relation between the dominance degree of the representation of Prophet Mohammad in the textbooks and educational grades: the lower the educational grade, the greater the dominance degree. For example, the proportion allocated to Prophet Mohammad in the textbooks Grade 1 is twice greater than the corresponding proportion in textbooks Grad 5 (about 84 and 40 per cent, respectively). However, this pattern does not entirely apply to the textbooks of higher school levels. In particular, a varying pattern exists in the textbooks of High school level in which the presence of Prophet Mohammad becomes increasingly more evident as educational grades goes up.

Figure 2: Representation of Prophet Mohammad and other Prophets in the textbooks by educational grades and school levels



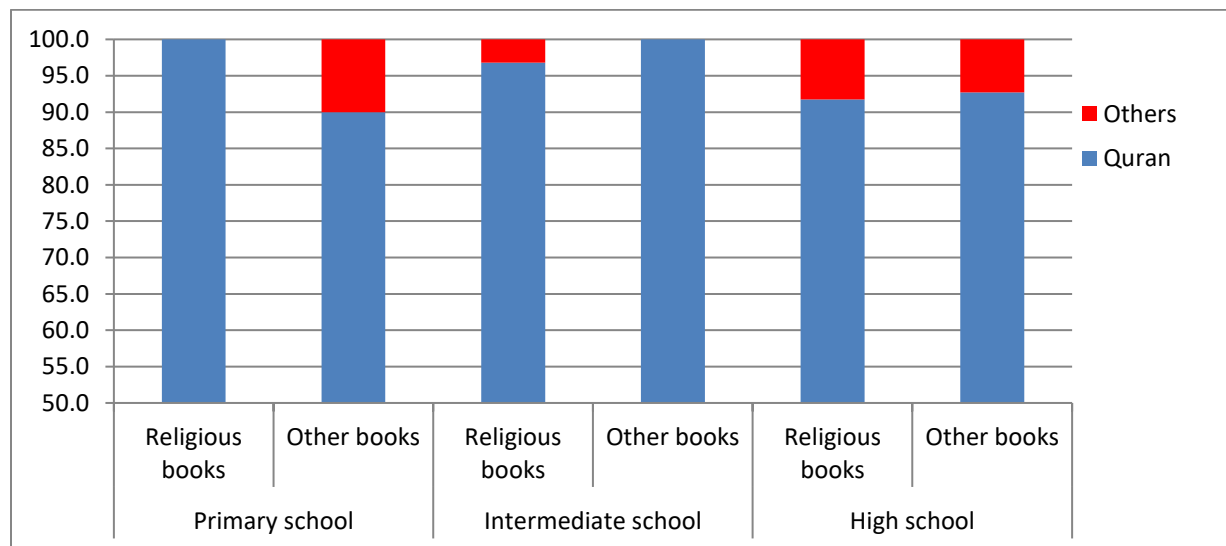
Notes: (1) In this Figure, Prophets are classified into three categories: 'Prophet Mohammad', 'Other Messengers', and 'Other Prophets'. 'Messengers' (*Rasul* or *Ule al Azm*) refers to five special Prophets who have been sent holy books, which include the Prophets Nuh (Noah), Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammad. The first four are considered as 'Other Messengers' in this analysis. 'Other Prophets' refers to all other Prophets (so-called 'Nabi') to whom holy book has not been sent. This, for example, includes such prophets as Aaron (Haroon), Ismael, Yusuf (Joseph), Yaghoob (Jacob). (2) See Appendix 2 for full details about the frequency distribution of the characteristics included in this Figure.

4. Holy-book of Quran and Other Holy-books

Moreover, the results of this analysis regarding the representation of the holy book of Quran and other holy books are shown in Figure 3. It illustrates the percentage distribution of the names of the holy books stated in the textbooks of this analysis by school levels (Primary, Intermediate, and High school). Generally speaking, the most visible pattern relates to the substantial dominance of the holy book of Quran which applies to the textbooks of all school levels. It is also evidently a predominant pattern in both 'religious textbooks' and 'other textbooks'. For example, of total frequency of representation of the names of holy books in the textbooks of Intermediate school

level, more than 96 per cent are allocated to the holy book of Quran and the remaining 4 per cent to all other holy books. The corresponding proportion in the textbooks of High school level is more than 92 per cent for Quran and the remaining 8 per cent for all other holy books. Further, this substantial dominance of the holy book of Quran relative to all other holy books exists in both ‘religious textbooks’ and ‘other textbooks’ of Primary school level. This observation is more important to be stressed in the ‘religious textbooks’ of Primary school: one the one hand, interestingly, the title of these textbooks is *Hedyehaye Asmani* (Holy Gifts). On the other hand, the word of ‘Quran’ has been frequently mentioned in these textbooks (that is, about 238 times) and other holy books are almost absent in these textbooks. This casts doubt on the compatibility between the title and content of these particular textbooks.

Figure 3: Representation of Holy book of Quran and other holy books in the textbooks by school levels



Notes: (1) In this analysis, ‘Religious books’ include books entitled Religious Education (*Talimate Dini*), Holy Gifts (*Hedyehaye Asmani*), and Teaching Quran (*Amozeshe Ghoran*), and Religion & Life (*Din va Zendegi*). Also, ‘Other books’ refers to all other textbooks included in analysis. (2) See Appendix 1 for information about the title and number of textbooks included in this analysis by school levels. (3) Also, Appendix 2 presents full details regarding the frequency distribution of the characteristics included in this Figure.

Concluding Remarks

The starting point of this study has been Huntington's (1996) notion arguing that western ethno-religious minorities in the Islamic states are more discriminated against than Islamic minorities in western states. While the status of Muslim minorities in the western settings has been almost substantially studied, there is still little in the existing literature to explore the status of religious minorities in the Islamic settings. The present study has contributed to filling this research gap. The field of this study is the Islamic Republic of Iran which holds the world's largest Shi'a Muslim population. It is also the home for some religious minorities including Sunnis, Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians. This study has revealed how these minorities are represented by the educational system in this Islamic setting. It is worthwhile restating that educational system has been recognized as the first official agent of and one of the most powerful engines of socialization process from childhood and school-ages. More importantly, the educational resources of this study are the sole school materials throughout the country on which the Islamic authorities have an absolute influence particularly upon the 1978 Islamic Revolution when the western-oriented Shah monarchy was replaced by an Islamic regime whose power has been increasingly dominated across the country including its educational system.

The results of this study have clearly indicated an overwhelming invisibility and under-representation of the minorities. This suggests that not only the religion of Islam and Shi'a Muslims (compared to other religious minorities including Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians, and Sunnis), but also the main characteristics related to the religion of Islam including Prophet Mohammad and the Holy book of Quran (relative to other Prophets and Holy books) have been

overwhelmingly more represented in the educational resources. These forms of dominance are partly understandable in a country in which Muslims and Shiite are markedly its predominant populations. However, it should be also considered that the magnitude of the invisibility and under-representation of these minorities is substantially high. For instance, while the religious textbooks of Primary school are entitled 'Holy Gifts' (*Hedyehaye Asmani*), the holy books other than Quran are almost invisible and disappeared in these educational resources. These sorts of overwhelming invisibility, under-representation, imbalance, and incompatibility affect significantly the democratic process of socialization from childhood.

The effects of such a representation and socialization process through the official mechanisms like educational institution and whether and how effectively it has been socially perceived are another story that stand outside of the scope of the present study and have been considered and discussed in other studies (Foroutan 2021, 2022). Despite whether and how effectively such a representation and socialization process through the official mechanisms has been accepted by individuals in the society, two key points cannot be ignored. First, this educational system is an official body of the Islamic authorities which has an exceptional power and absolute influence throughout the country. In particular, it deals with audience in childhood and juveniles in school-ages when their identity and personality are shaping. As a result, whatever they learn from and however they were dealt by this official mechanism will more or less remain with them and will somehow affect their knowledge and behavior for the rest of their life in future. Second, the focus on such an official mechanism provides a good opportunity for us in order to unlock and to shed further lights on the official reading and interpretation of the authorities about the issues under study which is here the issue of minorities' visibility. Accordingly, the results of such studies also reveal that how

minorities have been perceived by the states and authorities. This particularly applies to the states like the Islamic setting of the present study that have an absolute power and entire influence over such representation and socialization mechanisms as educational institution throughout the country.

In conclusion, it is acknowledged that since the field of this study is a Muslim-majority and Shi'a-dominated country, the general patterns explored in this study confirming the dominance of the religion of Islam (compared to *other* religions including Christianity, Judaism as well as Zoroastrians, etc.), the dominance of the Islamic Prophet of Mohammad (compared to *other* Prophets including the Prophets Abraham, Jesus, Moses, Nuh or Noah, etc.), the dominance of the Islamic Holy book of Quran (compared to *other* holy books including the holy books of Bible, Injil, Torah, etc.), and the dominance of the Islamic sect of Shi'a (compared to *other* major Islamic sect of Sunni) can be expected as normal patterns and a matter of no surprise. Moreover, such a dominance of the majorities' ideology and power relations has been documented in the prior studies termed as '*eloquent silence of ideology*' (Eagleton 1976), '*imagined communities*' (Anderson 1991), the '*political hand of state textbook-adoption policies*' (Apple 1992), and '*ideological bombardment*' (Arnot 2002, Foroutan 2021). However, the vitally important point to be taken into account here is the magnitude of the majorities' presence and dominance, as compared to the others (i.e. minorities): the minorities are almost invisible as observed in this analysis and discussed in this paper. This substantially high magnitude of invisibility and overwhelming under-representation of minorities damages significantly the nation's appropriate socialization process from childhood.

As a result, such an inappropriate experience of childhood can also harm considerably their attitudes and behaviors on the acceptance and tolerance of school-ages children towards minorities while they grown up enough in their adulthood throughout life span. These are the main reasons why minorities irrespective of their number and population size are also expected to be properly treated and visibly represented through socialization mechanisms particularly educational resources from childhood. This particularly applies to countries such as the contemporary Iran due to their specific demographics including a substantially increasing proportion of children and younger populations (Foroutan 2019, 2022) whose potential aspirations for modernity are fuelled by the wide-spreading access to the global modern communications technologies and social media of the contemporary world. In sum, the research findings of this study focusing on educational resources identified not only as ‘opportunity’ and ‘reform’ but also as ‘a tool of democracy’ (UNESCO 2004) emphasize the underlying conclusion that this Islamic setting still has a long way to go in order to meet democratically the ethno-religious minorities’ representation and visibility from a socio-demographic perspective.

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Appendix 1: Title and number of school-textbooks included in this analysis by school levels

| Title of textbooks | Primary School (Grades 1-5) | Intermediate School (Grades 1-3) | High School (Grades 1-3) | Total |
|---|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| <i>Riaziat</i> (Mathematics) | 5 | 3 | - | 8 |
| <i>Olome Tajrobi</i> (Experimental Sciences) | 5 | 3 | - | 8 |
| <i>Talimate Ejtemaei</i> (Social Sciences) | 3 | 3 | - | 6 |
| <i>Amozesh va Dastore Zabane Farsi</i> (Teaching and Grammar of Persian) | 10 | 3 | 8 | 21 |
| <i>Amozeshe Ghoran</i> (Teaching Quran) | 5 | 3 | - | 8 |
| <i>Hedyehaye Asmani</i> (Holy Gifts) | 8 | - | - | 8 |
| <i>Amozesh va Dastore Zabane Arabic</i> (Teaching and Grammar of Arabic) | - | 3 | 5 | 8 |
| <i>Amozesh va Dastore Zabane Englisi</i> (Teaching and Grammar of English) | - | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| <i>Joghrafi</i> (Geography) | - | 3 | - | 3 |
| <i>Tarikh</i> (History) | - | 3 | - | 3 |
| <i>Talimate Dini</i> (Religious Education) | - | 3 | - | 3 |
| <i>Amozeshe Honar</i> (Teaching Arts) | - | 3 | - | 3 |
| <i>Amozeshe Herfeh va Fan</i> (Teaching Skill and Occupation) | - | 3 | - | 3 |
| <i>Amadeghi Defaei</i> (Defensive Preparation) | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| <i>Din va Zendegi</i> (Religion and Life) | - | - | 3 | 3 |
| Total | 36 | 37 | 19 | 92 |

Notes: (1) In both Primary and Intermediate levels of schools, all textbooks have been included in this analysis (n=N). Due to a wide range of textbooks for various disciplines in the level of High School, a sample of textbooks in this level was selected which are commonly used in the various disciplines of High School level. (2) Since this analysis has central focus on religion, the textbooks have been classified into two major categories: 'Religious Textbooks' which include books entitled Religious Education (*Talimate Dini*), Holy Gifts (*Hedyehaye Asmani*), and Teaching Quran (*Amozeshe Ghoran*), and Religion & Life (*Din va Zendegi*). 'Other Textbooks' refers to all other textbooks included in this analysis.

Appendix 2: Frequency distribution of main characteristics of religion of Islam and other religions in the textbooks
by educational grades and school levels

| School levels & Educational Grades | Prophets | | | Main Religions | | | Islamic Sects | | Holy Books | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------|----------------|--------------|---------|---------------|-------|------------|--------|
| | Prophet Mohammad | Other Messengers | Other Prophets | Islam | Christianity | Judaism | Shiite | Sunni | Quran | Others |
| Primary School | | | | | | | | | | |
| Religious textbooks | 121 | 101 | 47 | 102 | 7 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 238 | 0 |
| Other textbooks | 31 | 22 | 26 | 308 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 18 | 2 |
| Total | 152 | 123 | 73 | 410 | 7 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 256 | 2 |
| Grade 1 | 10 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 22 | 0 |
| Grade 2 | 50 | 30 | 4 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 37 | 0 |
| Grade 3 | 31 | 46 | 5 | 45 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 88 | 1 |
| Grade 4 | 38 | 21 | 54 | 95 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 69 | 0 |
| Grade 5 | 23 | 25 | 9 | 261 | 7 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 40 | 1 |
| Intermediate School | | | | | | | | | | |
| Religious textbooks | 327 | 46 | 17 | 649 | 15 | 3 | 17 | 9 | 483 | 16 |
| Other textbooks | 69 | 89 | 41 | 425 | 33 | 3 | 7 | 1 | 57 | 0 |
| Total | 396 | 135 | 58 | 1074 | 48 | 6 | 24 | 10 | 540 | 16 |
| Grade 1 | 242 | 72 | 21 | 288 | 27 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 210 | 0 |
| Grade 2 | 43 | 37 | 6 | 359 | 14 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 186 | 0 |
| Grade 3 | 111 | 26 | 31 | 427 | 7 | 4 | 20 | 9 | 144 | 16 |
| High School | | | | | | | | | | |
| Religious textbooks | 249 | 89 | 66 | 211 | 10 | 10 | 12 | 2 | 200 | 18 |
| Other textbooks | 244 | 102 | 26 | 253 | 0 | 4 | 5 | 0 | 178 | 14 |
| Total | 493 | 191 | 92 | 464 | 10 | 14 | 17 | 2 | 378 | 32 |
| Grade 1 | 71 | 54 | 36 | 87 | 0 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 114 | 0 |
| Grade 2 | 131 | 42 | 31 | 71 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 78 | 5 |
| Grade 3 | 291 | 95 | 25 | 306 | 10 | 8 | 16 | 2 | 186 | 27 |
| All School Levels | | | | | | | | | | |
| Religious textbooks | 697 | 236 | 130 | 962 | 32 | 13 | 33 | 11 | 922 | 34 |
| Other textbooks | 344 | 258 | 93 | 986 | 33 | 7 | 22 | 1 | 252 | 16 |
| Total | 1041 | 494 | 223 | 1948 | 65 | 20 | 50 | 12 | 1174 | 50 |

Note: (1) In this analysis, Prophets are classified into three categories: 'Prophet Mohammad', 'Other Messengers', and 'Other Prophets'. 'Messengers' (*Rasul* or *Ule al Azm*) refers to five special Prophets who have been sent holy books, which include the Prophets Nuh (Noah), Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammad. The first four are considered as 'Other Messengers' in this analysis. 'Other Prophets' refers to all other Prophets (so-called 'Nabi') to whom holy book has not been sent. This, for example, includes such Prophets as Aaron (Haroon), Ismael, Yusuf (Joseph), Yaghoob (Jacob). (2) See Appendix 1 for the classification and definition of 'Religious Textbooks' and 'Other Textbooks' included in this analysis.