

'Precarize' and divide: Iranian workers from the 1979 Revolution to the 2009 Green Movement

Morgana, M.S.

Citation

Morgana, M. S. (2021, March 31). 'Precarize' and divide: Iranian workers from the 1979 Revolution to the 2009 Green Movement. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3151771

Version: Publisher's Version

License: License agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the

Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden

Downloaded from: https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3151771

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/3151771 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Morgana, M.S.

Title: 'Precarize' and divide: Iranian workers from the 1979 Revolution to the 2009 Green

Movement

Issue date: 2021-03-31

Academic articles, books, and book chapters

Abrahamian, Ervand. "Social Bases of Iranian Politics. The Tudeh Party 1941-1953." PhD dissertation. Columbia University, 1969.

"Iran in Revolution: The Opposition Forces." *MERIP Reports*, No. 75-76, (Mar-Apr 1979): 3-8.

Iran Between Two Revolutions. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.

Radical Islam. The Iranian Mojāhedin. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989.

"Khomeini: Fundamentalist or Populist." *New Left Review*, V. 186 (Mar/Apr 1991): 102 119.

Khomeinism: Essays on the Islamic Republic. Berkeley: University of California, 1993.

"The 1953 Coup in Iran." Science & Society, Vol. 65, No. 2 (Summer, 2001):182-215.

History of Modern Iran. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

The Coup: 1953, the CIA, and the Roots of Modern U.S.-Iranian Relations. New York: The New Press, 2012.

Mardom dar Siasat Iran [People in Iran's Politics]. Tehran: Cheshme, 1394/2015.

Adelkhah, Fariba. Being Modern in Iran. London: Hurst & Company, 1999.

"Islamophobia and Malaise in Anthropology," in *Conceptualizing Iranian Anthropology*. *Past and Present Perspectives* eds. Shahnaz Najmabadi, 207- 224. New York, Berghahn Books, 2009.

- Adib-Moghaddam, Arshin. (eds). *A Critical Introduction to Khomeini*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
 - *Psycho-nationalism: global thought, Iranian imaginations.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Ahmadi-Amui, Bahman. Eqtesad-e Syasi-ye Jomhouri-ye Eslami [Political Economy of the Islamic Republic], Tehran: Gam-e Now, 2003.
- Alamdari, Kazem. "The power structure of the Islamic Republic of Iran: Transition from populism to clientelism, and militarization of the government." *Third World Quarterly*, 26:8 (2005): 1285-1301.
- Alimagham, Pouya. *Contesting the Iranian Revolution. The Green Uprising*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.
- Altorki, Soraya (eds). *A Companion Anthropology of the Middle East*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015.
- Amirahmadi, Hooshang. "Economic Reconstruction of Iran: Costing the War Damage." *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (January 1990): 26–47.
 - Revolution and Economic Transition: The Iranian Experience. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990.
- Amouzadeh, Mohammad and Manouchehr Tavangar. "Decoding pictorial metaphor Ideologies in Persian commercial advertising." *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, Volume 7(2), 2004: 147–174.
- Amuzegar, Jahangir. "Iran's Economy: Status, Problems, and Prospects." Wilson Center, 2004.
 - "Khatami's Legacies: Dashed Hopes." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 60, No. 1 (Winter, 2006): 57-74.

- Anderson, Perry. "The Heirs of Gramsci," New Left Review, 100 (2016): 71-98.
- Arjomand, Said Amir. "Civil Society and the Rule of Law in the Constitutional Politics of Iran under Khatami." *Social Research*, Vol.67, No. 2 (2000): 283-301.
 - After Khomeini. Iran under his successors. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Art, David. "Archivists and Adventurers: Research Strategies for Authoritarian Regimes of the Past and Present." *Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 97, No. 4, (December 2014): 974-990.
- Ashraf, Ahmad. "From the White Revolution to the Islamic Revolution," in *Iran after the Revolution: Crisis in an Islamic State*. Eds. Saeed Rahnema and Sohrab Behdad (London: I.B. Tauris, 1996).
 - "Kalbod-shekāfi Enqelāb: Naqsh-e Kārgarān-e Sanʿati dar Enqelāb-e Irān [Autopsy of the Revolution: The Role of Industrial Workers in the Iranian Revolution]. *Goftogu*, 55 (2010): 55-123.
- Ashraf, Ahmad and Ali Banuazizi. "The State, Classes and Modes of Mobilization in the Iranian Revolution." *State, Culture and Society*, Vol. 1. No. 3 (Spring 1985), 3-40.
 - "Iran's Tortuous Path Towards Islamic Neoliberalism." *International Journal of Culture, Politics and Society*, Vol. 15, No.2 (2001): 237-256.
- Atabaki, Touraj. "Writing the Social History of Labor in the Iranian Oil Industry." *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 84 (2013): 154-158.
 - "From Amaleh (Labor) to Kargar (Worker): Recruitment, Discipline and Making of the Working Class in the Persian/Iranian Oil Industry." *International Labor and Working Class History*, 84 (2013):159-175.
 - "Chronicles of a Calamitous Strike Foretold: Abadan, July 1946." In Karl Heinz Roth eds. *On the Road to Global Labour History*, 93-128. Leiden: Brill, 2017.

- Atabaki, Touraj and Marcel van der Linden. "Twentieth Century Iran: History from Below." *International Review of Social History* 48, No. 3 (2012): 353-359.
- Atabaki, Touraj, Elisabetta Bini, Kaveh Ehsani eds. *Working for Oil: Comparative Social Histories of Labor in the Global Oil Industry*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.
- Augelli, Enrico and Craig N. Murphy. "Consciousness, myth and collective action: Gramsci, Sorel and the ethical state." In *Innovation and Transformation in International Studies*, ed. Stephen Gill and James H. Mittelman, 25-38. London, Cambridge University Press, 1997. .
- Bayat, Asef. Workers and Revolution in Iran. A Third World Experience of Workers' Control. Zed Books: London and New York, 1987.

"Historiography, Class, and Iranian Workers." In Zachary Lockman eds. *Workers and Working Classes in the Middle East*. New York: State University of New York Press, 1994.

Street Politics: Poor People's Movement in Iran. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.

Making Islam Democratic: Social Movements and the Post-Islamist Turn. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007.

Life as Politics. How Ordinary People Change the Middle East. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010.

"Workless revolutionaries. The Unemployed Movement in Revolutionary Iran." In Stephanie Cronin eds, *Subalterns and Social Protest. History from Below in the Middle East and North Africa*. London: Routledge, 2011.

Why did Iran's Green Wave not feel the Arab Spring. Sadighi Annual Lectures. Amsterdam: Institute of Social History, 2012.

- Revolutions without Revolutionaries. Making Sense of the Arab Spring. Stanford University Press, 2017.
- Baqi, Emadeddin. *Tarikh-e Shafahi-e Enqelab-e Eslami-e Iran: Majmu'eh-ye Bamameh-ye Dāstān e Enqelāb az Radio BBC*. Tehran: Nashr-e Tafakkor, 1994.
- Behdad, Sohrab. "From Populism to Economic Liberalism: The Iranian predicament." In Parvin Alizadeh eds. *Economy of Iran: Dilemma of an Islamic State*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2002.
- Behrooz, Maziar. *Rebels with a Cause: The Failure of the Left in Iran*. I. B. Tauris: London and New York, 1999.
- Beinin, Joel. "Sanitizing the Tunisian Revolution," 12 October 2015. Accessed 31 September 2018. http://stanfordpress.typepad.com/blog/2015/10/sanitizing-the-tunisian revolution.html.
- Bharier, Julian. Economic Development in Iran 1900-1970. London: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Blout, E. L. "Soft war: Myth, nationalism, and media in Iran. *The Communication Review*, 20:3, (2017): 212-22.
- Bromberger, Christian. "On Anthropology and Ethnography of and in Iran." *American Anthropologist*, Vol.120(1) (2018): 147-150.
- Carapico, Sheila. "No Easy Answers: The Ethics of Field Research in the Arab World." *PS: Political Science and Politics*, Vol. 39, No 3, (2006): 429-431.
- Chehabi, Houchang E. "Staging the emperor's new clothes: dress codes and nation building under Reza Shah." *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 3-4 (1993): 209-233.
- Chelkowski, Peter J. and Hamid Dabashi. *Staging a Revolution: The Art of Persuasion in the Islamic Republic of Iran*. New York: New York University Press, 1999.

- Clark, Janine A. "Field research methods in the Middle East." *Political Science and Politics*, Vol. 39, No. 3, (2006): 417-424.
- Coffey, Amanda. *The Ethnographic Self: Fieldwork and the Representation of Identity*. London: Sage, 1999.
- Couzens Hoy, David. *Critical resistance: From Poststructuralism to Post-Critique*. London: MIT Press 2004.
- Cronin, Stephanie. "The Left in Iran: Illusion and Disillusion." *Middle Eastern Studies* 36, No. 3 (2000): 231-243.

The Making of Modern Iran: State and Society under Riza Shah, 1921-194. Routledge/BIPS Persian Studies Series, 2003.

"Popular Politics, the New State and the Birth of the Iranian Working Class: The 1929 Abadan Oil Refinery Strike." *Middle Eastern Studies*, 46:5 (2010): 699-732. *Reformers and Revolutionaries in Modern Iran*. London: Routledge, 2004.

- Cupples, Julie. "The Field as a Landscape of Desire: Sex and Sexuality in Geographical Fieldwork." *Area*, Vol. 34, No. 4, (2002): 382-390.
- Davari, Arash. *Indeterminate Governmentality: Neoliberal Politics in Revolutionary Iran, 1968*1979, PhD Dissertation. University of California Los Angeles, 2016.
- Dabashi, Hamid. "By What Authority: The Formation of Khomeini's Revolutionary Discourse, 1964-1977." *Social Compass* 36, No. 4 (1989): 511-538.

Theology of Discontent. The Ideological Foundations of the Islamic Revolution in Iran. New York: New York University Press, 1993.

The Green Movement in Iran. New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 2011.

Dehghani, Ashraf. Torture and Resistance in Iran. London: 1976.

Ehsani, Kaveh. "Municipal Matters: The Urbanization of Consciousness and Political Change in Tehran." *Middle East Report*, No. 212 (Autumn, 1999): 22-27.

"Social Engineering and the Contradictions of Modernization in Khuzestan's Company Towns: A Look at Abadan and Masjed-Soleyman." *International Review of Social History*, 48(3), (2003), 361-399.

"Survival through Dispossession: Privatization of Public Goods in the Islamic Republic." *Middle East Report*, No. 250, The Islamic Revolution at 30 (Spring, 2009): 26 33.

Ehteshami, Anoushiravan. *After Khomeini: The Iranian Second Republic*. New York: Routledge, 1995.

Engelke, Matthew. *How to Think Like an Anthropologist*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018.

Fairclough, Norman. Discourse and Social change. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992.

Critical discourse analysis: The Critical Study of Language. London: Longman, 1995.

Language and Power. London and New York: Longman, 2001.

Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research. London and New York: Routledge, 2003.

Fairclough, Norman and Isabela Fairclough. *Political Discourse Analysis. A Method for Advanced Students.* London: Routledge, 2012.

Foran, John. Fragile Resistance: Social Transformation in Iran from 1500 to the Revolution. Westview Press, 1993.

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage Books, 1975.

Power/knowledge. Selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977. New York: Pantheon books, 1980.

The History of Sexuality. New York: Vintage Books, 1980.

"The History of Sexuality: An Interview." Oxford Literary Review, Vol. 4, No. 2 (1980).

"Technologies of the Self." In L.H. Martin, H. Gutman and P.H. Hutton (eds.) *Technologies of the self: A seminar with Michel Foucault*. USA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988.

"Politics and the Study of Discourse." In *The Foucault Effect. Study in Governmentality*. Eds. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

"Questions of method." In *The Foucault Effect. Study in Governmentality*. Eds. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

"The Ethics of the Concern for Self as a Practice of Freedom." In Michel Foucault, *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth*, ed. Paul Rabinov. New York: New York Press, 1997.

"Subject and Power." In *Power: Essential Works of Michel Foucault 1954 1984*. Eds. James Faubion. New York: The New Press, 2000.

Society must be defended: lectures at the Collège de France, 1975–76. New York:Picado, 2003.

Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France 1977 –1978. Eds. M. Senellart, trans. G. Burchell. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

- "What is critique." In Michel Foucault. *The Politics of Truth*, ed. S. Lotringer; trans. L. Hochroth and C. Porter. Los Angeles: Semiotext(e), 2007.
- Ghamari-Tabrizi, Behrooz. "The Divine, the People, and the Faqih." In Arshin Adib Moghaddam eds. *A Critical Introduction to Khomeini*, 211-238. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Ghasimi, M. R. "The Iranian Economy after the Revolution: An Economic Appraisal of the Five-Year Plan." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (Nov., 1992): 599-614.
- Gheytanch, Elham. "Symbols, Signs, and Slogans of the Demonstrations in Iran." In Yahya R. Kamalipour eds. *Media, Power, and Politics in the Digital Age. The 2009 Presidential Election Uprising in Iran*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010.
- Glasius, Marlies and Meta de Lange, Jos Bartman, Emanuela Dalmasso, Aofei Lv, Adele Del Sordi, Marcus Michaelsen, Kris Ruijgrok. *Research, Ethics and Risk in theAuthoritarian Field.* London: Palgrave Macmillian, 2018.
- Golkar, Saeid. "Student Activism, Social Media, and Authoritarian Rule in Iran." In Epstein I. eds. *The Whole World is Texting*. Pittsburgh Studies in Comparative and International Education. Rotterdam, Sense Publishers, 2015.
- Gramsci, Antonio. Lettere dal Carcere [Letters from Prison]. Torino: Einaudi, 1947.

Gli Intellettuali e l'Organizzazione della Cultura [Intellectuals and The Organization of Culture]. Torino: Einaudi, 1949.

Quaderni dal Carcere [Prison Notebooks]. Eds. Valentino Gerratana. Torino: Einaudi, 1975.

Selections from the Prison Notebooks. Edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. New York: International Publishers, 1971.

- Habibzadeh, Afshin. *Moshārekat Siyāsi Tabaqeh-ye Kārgar dar Irān* [*Political Participation of the Working Class in Iran*]. Tehran: Enteshārat Kavir, 1387/2008.
- Halliday, Fred. "Trade Unions and the Working Class' Opposition." *MERIP Reports*, Oct., 1978, No. 71 (Oct., 1978), 7-13.

Iran: Dictatorship and Development. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979.

Harris, Kevan. "The Rise of the Subcontractor State: Politics of Pseudo-privatization in the Islamic Republic of Iran." *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 45, 1 (2013): 45-70.

"Class and Politics in Post-Revolutionary Iran: A Brief Introduction." *MERIP -Middle East Report*, No. 277 (2016): 2-5.

A Social Revolution: Politics and Welfare State in Iran. Oakland: University of California Press, 2017.

Hashemi-Rafsanjani, Akbar. *Sāzandegi va Shokufāiy. Ketāb Khāterāt 1370*. [Reconstruction and blooming, Book of Memories, 1370-1992]..

Sāzandegi va bāzsāzi. Ketāb Khāterāt 1368. [Reconstruction and renovation, Book of Memories 1368-1990]. Tehran, personal website.

- Hashemi, Manata. "Tarnished work: dignity and labour in Iran." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 2018, DOI: 10.1080/13530194.2018.1552116, 1-16.
- Hashemi, Mohammad. Negareshi bar Qanun-e Jadid-e Kar-e Jomhouri-e Eslami-e Iran [Observation of the New Labor Laws of the Islamic Republic of Iran]. Tehran: Shahid Beheshti University Press, 1991.
- Hegland, Mary Elaine and Erika Friedl. "Methods Applied: Political Transformation and Recent Ethnographic Fieldwork in Iran." *Anthropology of the Middle East*, Vol. 1, No. 2, Winter 2006: 1-19.

- Holliday, Shabnam. "Khatami's Islamist-Iranian Discourse of National Identity: A Discourse of Resistance." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, No. 37:1 (2010): 1-13.
 - "The Legacy of Subalternity and Gramsci's National—Popular: Populist Discourse in the case of the Islamic Republic of Iran." *Third World Quarterly*, 37:5 (2016): 917-933.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. "Gramsci and Political Theory." Marxism Today, 21 (7): 205-213.
- Hoodfar, Homa and Fatemeh Sadeghi. "Against All Odds: The women's movement in the Islamic Republic of Iran." *Development*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (June 2009): 215–223.
- Jafari, Peyman. "Reasons to Revolt: Iranian Oil Workers in the 1970s." *International Labor and Working Class History*, No. 84 (Fall 2013): 195-217.
 - "Introduction: Against All Odds Labor Activism in the Middle East." *Workers of the World International Journal on Strikes and Social Conflicts*, No. 7 (2015): 6-13.
 - "Fluid History: Oil Workers and the Iranian Revolution." In *Working for Oil:*Comparative Social Histories of Labor in the Global Oil Industry. Eds. Touraj Atabaki,
 Elisabetta Bini and Kaveh Ehsani, 69-98. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.
- Jahanbakhsh, Forough."Religious and Political Discourse in Iran: Moving TowardPost Fundamentalism." *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Winter/Spring 2003): 243-254.
- Kamrava, Mehran. "The Civil Society Discourse in Iran." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 28:2 (2001), 165-185
- Kar, Mehrangiz. *Crossing the Red Line: The Struggle for Human Rights in Iran*. Costa Mesa: Blind Owl Press, 2007.
- Kangarani, Reza. "Kārgarān va Showrahā -ye Eslāmi-ye Kār [Workers and the Islamic Councils of Labor]." *Andisheh-ye Jām 'eh*, No. 16, (Ordibehesht 1380/April 2001): 10-12.

- Katouzian, Homa. *The Political Economy of Modern Iran: Despotism and Pseudo Modernism* 1926-1979. London: Palgrave MacMillan, 1981.
- Kapiszewski, Diane, Lauren MacLean and Benjamin Read. *Field Research in Political Science: Practices and Principles.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Khan, Shahnaz. "Reconfiguring the Native Informant: Positionality in the Global Age." *Signs*, Vol. 30, No. 4, (Summer 2005): 2017-2037.
- Khatami, Mohammad. *Hope and Challenge: The Iranian President speaks*. Binghamton, NY: Institute of Global and Cultural Studies, 1997.
- Khomeini, Ruhollah. *Sahifeh-ye Imam. Majmu'eh-ye Āsar-e Imām Khomeini*.

 Tehran: Moasseseh-e Tanzim va Nashr-e Asar-e Imam Khomeini, 1389/2000.
 - *Taliehye Enqelāb-e Eslami. Mosābeh-hā-ye Emām Khomeini dar Pāris.* Tehran: Setād Enqelāb Farhangi, Markaz-e Nashr-re Dāneshgāhi, 1363/1984.
- Khosravi, Shahram. *Precarious Lives. Waiting and Hope in Iran*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017.
 - "The Precarious Status of Working-Class Men in Iran." *Current History*, (December 2017): 355-359.
 - Khosrokhavar, Farhad. "The Iranian Middle Classes Between Political Failure and Cultural Supremacy." *Sadighi Annual Lectures*. Amsterdam: Sadighi Research Fund –International Institute of Social History, 2015.
- Koch, Natalie. "Field Methods in 'Closed Contexts': Undertaking Research in Authoritarian States and Places." *Area*, Vol. 45, No. 4, (2013): 390-395.
- Kurzman, Charles. "The Arab Spring: Ideals of the Iranian Green Movement, Methods of the Iranian Revolution," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 44, No. 1 (2012): 162 165.

Ladjevardi, Habib. Labor Union and Autocracy in Iran. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985.

Lazreg, Marnia. "Feminism and Difference: The Perils of Writing as a Woman on Women in Algeria." *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 14, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 81-107.

Mahdavi, Mojtaba. "The Rise of Khomeinism. Problematizing the Politics of Resistance in Pre-Revolutionary Iran." In *A Critical Introduction to Khomein*. Eds. Arshin Adib Moghaddam, 43-68. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Maljoo, Mohammad. "Worker Protest in the Age of Ahmadinejad." *MERIP*, No. 241 (2006). https://www.merip.org/mer/mer241/worker-protest-age-of-ahmadinejad. Accessed 25 July 2018.

"Tabaqeh Kārgar pas az Entekhābāt Dahom: Enzevā ya E'telāf" [The Working Class after the Elections: Isolation or Coalition], Goftogu, 55 (1389/2010): 7-16.

"The Green Movement Awaits an Invisible Hand." *Middle East Report Online*, June 26, 2010 https://merip.org/2010/06/the-green-movement-awaits-an-invisible-hand/.

"The Vicious Circle Trapping Iranian Workers since the 1990s." *Revue Intérnationale des Études du Développement*, N. 229 (2017): 137-162.

"The Unmaking of the Iranian Working Class since 1990s." In *Iran's Struggles for Social Justice: Economics, Agency, Justice, Activism*, eds. PeymanVahabzadeh, 47-64. Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

Malm, Andreas and Shora Esmailian. *Iran on the Brink: Rising Workers and Threats of War*. London, Ann Arbor, MI:Pluto, 2007.

Mather, David and Yassamine Mather & Majid Tamjidi. "Making Cars in Iran: Working for Iran Khodro." *Critique*, 35:1 (2007): 9-21.

- Matin-Asgari, Afshin. "The Left's Contribution to Social Justice in Iran: A Brief Historical Overview." In Peyman Vahabzadeh eds. *Iran's Struggles for Social Justice*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.
- Milani, Abbas. "The Green Movement." *Iran Primer*. https://iranprimer.usip.org/sites/default/files/The%20Green%20Movement.pdf. Accessed December 8, 2019.
- Mitchell, Timothy. *Rule of experts: Egypt, techno-politics, modernity*. Berkeley:University of California Press, 2002.
- Moaddel, Mansoor. "Class Struggle in Post-Revolutionary Iran." *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 23 (1991): 317-343.
- Moghadam, Val. "Industrial Development, Culture, and Working-Class Politics: A Case Study of Tabriz Industrial Workers in the Iranian Revolution." *International Sociology*, Vol.2, No.2 (1987): 151-175.
 - "Socialism or Anti-Imperialism? The Left and Revolution in Iran." *New Left Review*, No. 166 (Nov-Dec 1987): 5-28.
 - "The Revolution and the Regime: Populism, Islam and the State in Iran." *Social Compass* 36, No. 4 (1989): 415-450.
 - "Hidden from history? Women workers in modern Iran." *Iranian Studies*, 33, No. 3-4 (2000): 377-401.
- Moghissi, Haideh and Saeed Rahnema. "The Working Class and the Islamic State in Iran." *Socialist Register* 37 (2001): 207-208.
- Moradi, Sina. "Labour Activism and Democracy in Iran." Working Paper 22, Humanist Institute for Cooperation with Developing Countries, The Hague (July 2013).

- Morgenbesser, Lee. "Survive and Thrive: Field Research in Authoritarian Southeast Asia." *Asian Studies Review*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (2018): 485-403.
- Morgana, M. Stella. "The Islamic Republican Party of Iran in the Factory: Controlover Workers' Discourse in Posters (1979–1987)." *Iran Journal of the British Institute for Persian Studies* 56, no. 2 (2018): 237-249.
 - "Talking to Workers: From Khomeini to Ahmadinejad, how the Islamic Republic's Discourse on Labor Changed through May Day Speeches (1979-2009)." *Iranian Studies*, 52:1-2 (2019):133-158.
 - "Precarious Workers and Neoliberal Narratives in Post-revolutionary Iran: Top-down Strategies and Bottom-up Responses." *Middle East Institute*, MAP Project, January 28, 2020.
 - "'Produce and Consume' in the Islamic Republic: The 1990s Myth of the Winner in the Iranian Public Sphere and Its Impact on Workers." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 52(2), 340-344.
- Moslem, Mehdi. Factional Politics in Post-Khomeini Iran. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2002.
- Mottahedeh, Negar. #iranelection Hashtag Solidarity and the Transformation of Online Life.

 Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015.
- Najmabadi, Shahnaz. "From 'Alien' to 'One of Us" and Back: Field Experiences in Iran." *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 4, (December 2004): 603-612.
- Nia, Mahdi Mohammad. "Discourse and Identity in Iran's Foreign Policy." *Iranian Review of Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (Fall 2012): 29-64.
- Nikazmerad, Nicholas M. "A Chronological Survey of the Iranian Revolution. *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 1/4, Iranian Revolution in Perspective (1980): 327-368.

Nomani, Farhad and Sohrab Behdad. *Class and Labor in Iran: Did the Revolution Matter?*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2006.

"The Rise and Fall of Iranian Classes in the Post-Revolutionary Decades." *Middle Eastern Studies*, 44:3, (2008): 377-396.

"Labor Rights and the Democracy Movement in Iran: Building a Social Democracy," *Northwestern journal of international Human Rights*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (2012): 212-230.

OIPF, Kārgarān Pishtāz-e Jonbesh-e Tudeh.

Parsa, Misagh. *Social Origins of the Iranian Revolution*. London and New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1989.

States, Ideologies, and Social Revolutions. A Comparative Analysis of Iran, Nicaragua, and the Philippines. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000.

"Ideology and Political Action in the Iranian Revolution." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (2011): 53-68.

Democracy in Iran. Why It Failed and How It Might Succeed. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2016.

- Portelli, Alessandro. "The Peculiarities of Oral History." *History Workshop Journal*, vol. 12, Issue 1, Autumn 1981, 96–107.
- Pourmokhtari, Navid. "Understanding Iran's Green Movement as Movement of Movements." *Sociology of Islam*, Vol.2 (2014): 144-177.
- Rahmani. "Chera' va mo'zalha-ye taghir-e sharayet-e kar-e naftgaran" [Reasons and Problems of Changing the Working Conditions of the Oil Labor]. *Samane*, No 11–12, 2010: 53–65.
- Rahnema, Saeed. "Work Council in Iran: Illusion of Worker Control." *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (February 1992): 69-94.

- "The Left and the Struggle for Democracy in Iran." In Stephanie Cronin eds.

 *Reformers and Revolutionaries in Modern Iran, 250-267. London: Routledge, 2004.
- Rahnema, Ali. *Behind the 1953 Coup in Iran: Thugs, Turncoats, Soldiers, and Spooks.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Reisinezhad, Arash. "The Iranian Green Movement: Fragmented Collective Action and Fragile Collective Identity." *Iranian Studies*, 48:2 (2015), 193-222.
- Rezai-Rashti, Goli M. "Conducting Field Research On Gender Relations in a Gender Repressive State: a Case Study of Gender Research in Iran." *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (2013): 489-502.
- Rivetti, Paola. "Methodology Matters in Iran: Researching Social Movements in Authoritarian Context." *Anthropology of the Middle East*, Vol. 12, No.1, (Summer 2017): 71-82.
 - Political Participation in Iran from Khatami to the Green Movement. Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.
- Rivetti, Paola and Francesco Cavatorta. "Iranian Student Activism between Authoritarianism and Democratization: Patterns of Conflict and Cooperation between the Office for the Strengthening of Unity and the Regime." *Democratization*, 21:2 (2014): 289-310.
- Rouhani, Farhang. "Multiple Sites of Fieldwork: A Personal Reflection." *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (Dec. 2004): 685-693.
- Said, Edward. Orientalism. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.
- Sadeghi, Fatemeh. "The Politics of Recognition. The Barefoot of the Revolution and Elusive Memories." *Merip*, No. 277 (Winter 2015): 15-19.
- Sadeghi-Boroujerdi, Eskandar. *Revolution and its Discontents: Political Thought and Reform in Iran*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Safiri, Mas'ud. *Haqiqat-hā va Maslahat-ha. Goftogu bā Hashem Rafsanjāni*. Tehran, Nashr-e Ney, 1378/1989.

Saffari, Siavash. "Two Pro Mostaz afin Discourses in the 1979 Iranian Revolution." *Contemporary Islam*, Vol.11 (2017): 287–301.

Saghafi, Morad. "The New Landscape of Iranian Politics." *Middle East Report*, 233 (Winter 2004): 16-23.

Salehi-Isfahani, Djavad. "Labor and the Challenge of Economic Restructuring in Iran." *Middle East Report*, No. 210, (Spring, 1999): 34-37.

"Population, Human Capital and Economic Growth in Iran," in *Human Capital:*Population Economics in the Middle East, eds. Ismail Sirageldin. Cairo: American University of Cairo Press, 2002.

"Human resources in Iran: potentials and challenges." *Iranian Studies*, 38:1 (2005): 117 147.

"Oil Wealth and Economic Growth in Iran." In Ali Gheissari eds, 3-37. *Contemporary Iran: Economy, Society, Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Sariolghalam, Mahmood. "Iran in Search of Itself." Current History, December 2008, 425-431.

Sāzman-e Cherikhā-ye Feda'ii Khalq-e Irān, Shahrivar 1357/September 1978, reprinted by CISNU, (Berlin, 1978).

Schulzke, Marcus. "Power and Resistance: Linking Gramsci and Foucault." In David Kreps eds. *Gramsci and Foucault: A Reassessment*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2015.

Shahbazi, Mohammad. "Past Experiences and Future Perspectives of an Indigenous Anthropologist on Anthropological Work in Iran." In *Conceptualizing Iranian*

- Anthropology: Past and Present Perspectives. Shahnaz Nadjmabadi eds., 143-56. New York: Berghahn Books, 2009.
- Shahshahani, Soheila. "Reflections on My Research in Iran, 1976–2006." *Anthropology of the Middle East*, Vol. 1, No. 2, Winter 2006: 67.
- Shavarini, Mitra. "Western Procedures, Eastern protocols: Conducting research in the Western wary Islamic Republic of Iran." In J. E. Larkley & V. B. Maynhardeds., *Innovations in education*. New York: Nova Science, 2008.
- Sohrabi, Naghmeh. "Muddling through the Iranian Revolution." *Perspectives on History*, November 1, 2015.
- Sreberny-Mohammadi, Annabelle and Ali Mohammadi. *Small Media, Big Revolution:*Communication, Culture, and the Iranian Revolution. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.
- Sreberny, Annabelle and Gholam Khiabany. *Blogistan: The Internet and Politics in Iran*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2010.
- Suzuki, Yuko. "Negotiations, Concessions, and Adaptations during Fieldwork in a Tribal Society." *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 4, (2006): 623-632.
- Tapper, Richard. "What is this thing called "ethnography?" *Iranian Studies*, 31:3-4 (1998): 389 398.
- "Personal Reflections on Anthropology of and in Iran." In *Conceptualizing Iranian*Anthropology. Past and Present Perspectives. Shahnaz Najmabadi eds. NewYork,:
 Berghahn Books, 2009.
- Tazmini, Ghoncheh. *Khatami's Iran: The Islamic Republic and the Turbulent Path to Reform.*London: I.B. Tauris, 2009.

- Tilly, Charles. "Afterword: Political Memories in Space and Time." In Jonathan Boyarin eds.

 *Remapping Memory: The Politics of Timespace. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004.
- Turner, Terisa. "Iranian Oil Workers in the 1978-1979 Revolution." In *Oil and Class Struggle*. Peter Nore and Terisa Turner eds. London: Zed Books 1980.
- Vahabzadeh, Peyman. Guerrilla Odyssey. Modernization, Secularism, Democracy, and the Fadai Period of National Liberation in Iran, 1971–1979. Syracuse University Press: Syracuse, 2010.
 - Iran's Struggle for Social Justice: Economics, Agency, Justice, Activism. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.
- Vahdat, Farzin. "Post-Revolutionary Islamic Discourses on Modernity in Iran: Expansion and Contraction of Human Subjectivity." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (Nov. 2003): 599-631.
- Valadbaygi, Kayhān. "Hybrid Neoliberalism: Capitalist Development in Contemporary Iran." *New Political Economy*, (2020), DOI: <u>10.1080/13563467.2020.1729715</u>
- Veyne, Paul. "Foucault Revolutionizes History." In *Foucault and his interlocutors*, A. Davidson eds. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- Wodack, Ruth and Michal Krzyzanowski. *Qualitative Discourse Analysis in the Social Sciences*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Archives

National Library of Iran
Library of the Iranian Parliament
UCLA, International Digital Ephemera Project
University of Chicago Library, Middle Eastern Posters Collection

Newspapers, news agencies, magazines, TV reports

Andisheh-ye Jām'eh
Al-Jazeera
Associated Press
BBC
CNN
Ettelā'āt
Financial Times
Goftogu
Hamshahri
Islamic Republic News Agency (IRNA)
Iranian Student News Agency (ISNA)
Iranian Labor News Agency (ILNA)
Iran
Iran Fardā
Kār
Kār-o-Kārgar
Kayhān
Le Monde
Lotta Continua
L'Ordine Nuovo
L'Unità
Paese Sera
Rāh-e Kārgari
New York Times
Salam
The Guardian
Time
Washington Post

Official documents and reports

- Amnesty International. "Iran: Up to 500 Tehran bus workers imprisoned for planning strike." Accessed, 3 Feb 2006. https://www.amnesty.org.uk/press-releases/iran-500-tehran-bus workers-imprisoned-planning-strike.
- First Five-Year-Development Plan. Tehran, 1989. http://www.maslehat.ir/Contents.aspx?p=17e0f3f3-5988-4069-a89b73ad17f87e9d
- *Iran Data Portal.* "Labor Force, Employment by Industry Sector (1956-2011)." https://irandataportal.syr.edu/labor-force. Accessed 29 February 2019.
- Labor Law [Qānun-e Kār]. 1990. Ministry of Cooperatives, Labor and Social Welfare. https://rkj.mcls.gov.ir/fa/moghararaat/ghavanin/ghanoonkar.
- Labor Law. Miscellaneous provisions. English translation https://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/docs/WEBTEXT/21843/64830/E90IRN01.HM#c12.
- Labor Law. Amendments as approved on 27 January 2003 [7 Bahman 1381]. *Majles*. http://rc.majlis.ir/fa/law/%20show/122666
- Law on Islamic Councils of Labor [Qānun-e Showrāhā-ye Eslāmi Kār]. *Majles*. Available at http://rc.majlis.ir/fa/law/show/91022.
- International Labour Organization (ILO), Freedom of Association and Protection of the right to organize Convention 1948 (no. 87).

 https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12
 00 INSTRUMENT ID:312232.

Discussion on Convention 111 on discrimination in the workplace (2000). https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/fr/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:13100:0::NO::P13 00 COMMENT ID,P13100 LANG CODE:2555743,en

"An Employment Strategy for the Islamic Republic of Iran" (2003).

Report No. 346 (2007), available here http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:50002:0::NO::P500 2 COMPLAINT TEXT ID:2910267

"Qānun-e Nezām-e Sanʿati" (1990) https://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/docs/ELECTRONIC/91489/106120/F205386 805/IRN91489.pdf

Islamic Republic of Iran, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, E-visa types.

https://evisatraveller.mfa.ir/en/request/visa_types/. Accessed 21 May, 2018.

Websites

Asr-e nou

Akhbar-e rooz

Alborz

Donyā-e-Eqtesād

Ettehādechāp

Ettehādchāp Kārgari

Facebook

IASWI

Jacobin

Jadaliyya

Kaleme

Lobelog

Meidān

Naqd-e Eqtesādi

Ofros

PBS

WordsWithoutBorders

Youtube