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

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Propositions

1. Workers were crucial to the success of the 1979 Revolution in Iran, but they were absent as a collective force in 2009, when the Green Movement took to the streets. Understanding what happened in between that caused workers to be absent provides an essential contribution to the study of post-revolutionary Iran's socio-political transformations both from a bottom-up and a top-down perspective.
2. Both structural and discursive processes intermittently turned Iranian workers from subjects into agents under the Islamic Republic in the period between 1979 and 2009.
3. Cultural hegemony in the context of evolving power relations represents a valuable framework to understand the many *whys* and *hows* related to discourses on workers as instrumental tools in the making of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic practices in post-revolutionary Iran.
4. Language is not detached *per se* from the dynamics of the economic structure, but it reflects and influence it. Looking at the Iranian context through a Gramscian lens allows us to grasp the connections and the disconnections between the two levels of superstructure: political society, such as the state apparatus, and civil society, such as the realm where consent is constructed.
5. Workers expressed their agency, founding their own conscious paths of (formal and informal) resistance not only in the Iranian Revolution. Yet, in the following years, the processes of *precarization* – beyond mere economic or legal dimensions – weakened grassroots politics through deradicalization.
6. Interpreting workers as mere victims or angered individuals who react to oppression only for economic reasons overlooks their own choices and neglects their agency.
7. Repression does not represent the only factor that hindered workers' collective actions and the Islamic Republic is not an omnipotent actor.
8. The Islamic Republic defused workers' potential for collective actions and for solidifying cross-class alliances by sanitizing the meaning of social justice and by making workers precarious.
9. The historiography of Iran would lack a fundamental component without the social history of labor, which needs to analyze the role of workers beyond the labor movement in itself.
10. Finalizing a PhD dissertation during the COVID-19 global pandemic might be an indication of the precarious status of life, within and beyond academia.