

Notes

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2 An Emancipated Worker

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46. Jaques Rancière, *On the Shore of Politics*, (London: Verso, 1995), p.45.
47. Rasouli's *Letter to Labour Minister*, 01.02.1341/21.04.1962.
48. *Letter to the President of the Office of the Sixth Province (Khuzestan)*, 23.11.1340/12.02.1962.
49. *Letter to Labor Minister*, 01.02.1341/21.04.1962.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs*, 25.04.1341/16.07.1962.
53. *Letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs*, 26.09.1341/11.12.1962.
54. *Ibid.* Kuwait became independent in 1962. Ordinary people in Khuzestan contrasted Kuwait's independence with Iran's dependence on the U.S. after the 1953 coup.
55. *Letter to Abbas Masoudi, the president of Etela'at newspaper*, ???.04.1341./???.06.1962.
56. *Letter to the president of Keyhan newspaper*, 24.10.1341/14.01.1963.
57. *The addendum letter to the letter to Keyhan Newspaper.*
58. *Letter to the president of the section for Information and Publication of Radio Iran*, 20.12.1341/11.03.1963.
59. *Ibid.*
60. *Letter to Rezazadeh Shafaq.*
61. *Ibid.*
62. *Letter to Asadolabb Alam*, 28.02.1341/18.05.1962.
63. *Leter to Asadollah Alam*, 17.05.1341/08.08.1962.
64. *Letter to Asadollah Alam signed by Rasouli's entire family*, 11.12.1341/02.03.1963.
65. *Ibid.*
66. *Ibid.*
67. *Letter to Asadollah Alam*, 17.01.1342/06.04.1963.
68. *Ibid.*
69. *Letter to Hassan Ali Mansur*, 19.10.1342/09.01.1964.

70. Ibid.
71. *Letter to Ali Amini.*
72. *Oil company's letter to the Head Office of the Prime Minister,* 29.04.1343/20.07.1964.
73. *Letter to Amir Abbas Hoveida,* 17.11.1343/06.02.1965.
74. Ibid.
75. *Several letters to Masjed-Soleiman's court, such as letters dated* 12.06.1342/03.09.1963 *and* 13.06.1342/04.09.1963.
76. *Letters to the state's chief prosecutor,* 31.04.1341/22.07.1962. *and* 25.07.1342/17.10.1963.
77. *LetterstoJusticeMinisters,* 31.03.1342/21.06.1963, 23.06.1342/14.09.1963, 22.08.1342/13.11.1963., 12.09.1342/03.12.1963. *and* 09.10.1342/30.12.1963.
78. *Letter the Justice Minister, Baheri,* 09.10.1342/30.12.1963.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid.
81. *Letter to Ataei, member of the Iranian Parliament,* 10.12.1342/29.02.1964.
82. Ibid.
83. Ibid.
84. Ibid.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid.
87. *Letter to Senator Matindaftari,* 01.09.1343/22.11.1964.
88. Ibid.
89. Ibid.
90. *Letter to the parliament's commission of petitions,* 30.08.1342/21.11.1963.
91. Ibid.
92. *Letter to the Iranian Parliament,* 10.12.1342/29.02.1964.
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid.
95. *Letter to Ashraf Ahmadi, Khuzestan's Senator,* 29.02.1343/19.05.1964.
96. *There are many letters to the Shah, dated* 21.01.1341/10.04.1962, 16.04.1341/07.07.1963., 17.05.1341/08.08.1962., 28.06.1341/19.09.1962., 30.12.1341/20.03.1962., 30.02.1342/20.05.1963, *and* 07.07.1342/29.09.1963. *There are many other letters to his court, and to Ashraf Pahlavi and Farah Diba signed by his wife.*
97. *Letter to the Shah,* 16.11.1341/05.02.1963.
98. *Letter to the Shah,* 28.06.1341/19.09.1962.
99. Ibid.
100. *Letter to the Shah,* 08.02.1342/28.04.1963.
101. *Letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,* 24.09.1343/15.11.1964.
102. *Letter from Iran's Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Rasouli,* 12.10.1343/02.01.1965.
103. *Letter to Ministry of Foreign Affairs,* 27.10.1343/17.01.1965.
104. *Letters to Ministry of Foreign Affairs,* 21.03.1344/11.06.1965 *and* 21.04.1344/12.07.1965.

105. *Letter from Iran's Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Rasouli*, 03.05.1344/25.07.1965.
106. *Letter to Iran's Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 27.06.1344/18.09.1965.
107. *Letters to Iran's Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 18.08.1344/09.11.1965. and 11.09.1344/02.12.1965.
108. *Letter from Iran's Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Rasouli*, 23.09.1344/14.12.1965.
109. *Letter to Iran's Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 20.10.1344/10.01.1966.
110. *Copy of the letter by Iran's Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Section of Inspection of the National Iranian Oil Company to Rasouli*, Nr. 210/31–7164/14 (date unknown).
111. *Letter to Iran's Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 12.11.1344/01.02.1966.
112. *Letter to Iran's Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 30.01.1345/19.04.1966.
113. Rancière, *The Emancipated Spectator*, p.17.
114. *Ibid.*, pp.42–43.
115. *Ibid.*, p.43.
116. *Ibid.*, p.49.
117. *Ibid.*, pp.48–49.
118. Hobbes, *On the Citizen*, p.132.
119. Rancière, *The Names of History*, p.45.
120. *Ibid.*, p.48.
121. *Ibid.*, p.52.
122. *Ibid.*, p.61.
123. Davis, *Jacques Rancière*, p.49.
124. Rancière, *The Emancipated Spectator*, p.46.

3 Politics of the Local Historiography

1. Sadeq Chubak's *Tangsir* and Ahmad Mahmoud's *Madar-e sefr darajeh* are examples of such narratives.
2. A contemporary historian of the Persian Gulf takes the local historians of these regions more seriously than the authors of national historiography who also write about these regions: Willem Floor, *The Persian Gulf—The Rise Of The Gulf Arabs: The Politics of Trade on the Persian Littoral, 1747–1792* (Washington, DC: Mage Publishers, 2007), p.xvi.
3. Qasem Yahosseini, SIRAF: *Shahr-e goftegu-ye farhang'ha* (Bushehr: Entesharat-e Shoru, 2005), p. 39.
4. Abdolkarim Mashayekhi, *Mashruteh dar Bushehr* Hafteh nameh-ye Daliran-e Tangestani, 06.07.88/28.09.2009.
5. The work of nationalist historians such as Ahmad Kasravi, Iraj Afshar, and Ahmad Eqtedari is worth careful examination in this regard.
6. Historiography is a mode of interpretative activity that, according to Hayden White, “becomes political at the point where a given interpreter claims authority over rival interpreters.” *The Content of the Form: Narrative*

- Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), p.114.
7. Khourshid Faqih, *Zaval-e doulat-e holand dar khaliy-e fars ba zohur-e Mir Mohanna-ye Bandar-e Rigi* (Bushehr: Entesharat-e Shoru, 2004).
 8. *Shushestan ya Khuzestan*, 2000, *Tarikh-e Dezful* 2006, and *Enqelab-e eslami dar Ahvaz* 2007, are a few examples in this regard.
 9. Gholamali Rajayi, *Naqsh-e Bani kaab dar tahavvolat-e doureh-ye Zand dar khaliy-e fars: Farhang va tamaddon, Majmueh-ye maqalat*, Tehran Entesharat-e Muaseseh-ye tahqiqat va touseeh-ye olum-e ensani, 2008, pp. 297–336.
 10. Qasem Yhosseini, *Mir Mohanna, ruyaruyi-ye ingelisi'ha va holandiha dar khaliy-e fars* (Tehran: Entesharat-e Parvin, 1995).
 11. Floor, *The Persian Gulf—The Rise Of The Gulf Arabs*, p.xvi.
 12. Yhosseini, *Mir Mohanna*, pp.152–153.
 13. Khourshid Faqih, *Zaval-e doulat-e holand dar khaliy-e fars ba zohur-e Mir Mohanna-ye Bandar-e Rigi* (Bushehr: Entesharat-e Shoru, 2004).
 14. Floor, *The Persian Gulf—The Rise of The Gulf Arabs*, p.95.
 15. *Ibid.*, p.2.
 16. Yhosseini, *Mir Mohanna*, p.23.
 17. *Ibid.*, pp.145–153.
 18. *Ibid.*, pp.152–153.
 19. *Ibid.*, p.152.
 20. *Tarikh-e giti gosha dar tarikh-e khandan-e Zand* by Mohammad Sadeq Musavi Isfahani, *Golshan-e morad* (1780–1791) by Abulhassan Ghaffari Kashani, and *Rostam al-tavarikh* 1779–1785 by Mohammad Hashem Asef.
 21. Faqih, *Zaval-e doulat-e holand dar khaliy-e fars ba zohur-e Mir Mohanna-ye Bandar-e Rigi*, p.190.
 22. *Ibid.*, 132–133.
 23. *Ibid.*, 191–192.
 24. Yhosseini. *Mir Mohanna*, pp.147–148.
 25. Faih, *Zaval-e doulat-e holand dar khaliy-e fars*, p.91.
 26. Yhosseini, *Mir Muhanna*, p.23, and Faqih, *Zaval-e doulat-e holand dar khaliy-e fars*, pp.190–196.
 27. *Ibid.*, pp.167–168.
 28. *Ibid.*, pp.132–133.
 29. *Ibid.*, p.198.
 30. Sadeq Chubak, *Tangsir* (Tehran: Muaseseh-ye entesharat-e Amir Kabir, 1963), p.25.
 31. Mohhammad Hossein Roknzadeh Adamiyat, *Daliran-eTangestani* (Tehran: Entesharat-e Eqbal, 1991).
 32. Iraj Nabipur, *Jonbesh-e Rais Ali Delvari, Jonbesh'ha-ye mosalahaneh-ye zedd-e estemari-ye Asia, Afrika va Amrika-ye Latin*, in Motaleati dar bareh-ye Tangestan, Edited by Qasem Yhosseini (Tehran: Entesharat-e Golgasht, 1387), p.244.

33. Abdolkarim Mashayekhi, *Mashruteh dar Bushehr, Hafteh Nameh-ye Daliran-eTangestan* http://delt.ir/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=699&Itemid=9
34. Qasem Yahosseini, *Zohur va soqut-e khandan-e Tangestani* (Tehran: Entesharat-e Suresh-ye mehr, 2008), pp.243–331.
35. *Ibid.*, pp.247–248.
36. *Ibid.*, p.253.
37. *Ibid.*, p.249.
38. *Ibid.*, p.266.
39. Abdolkarim Mashayekhi, *Mashruteh dar Bushehr*, Daliran-eTangestan weekly, http://delt.ir/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=699&Itemid=9
40. Mashallah Kazeruni, *Dashtestan dar nehzat-e melli va enqelab-e eslami-ye Iran*, in Beh kushesh-e Qasem Yahosseini (Qum: Nashr-e Mouud-e eslam, 2008), pp.15–18.
41. *Ibid.*, pp.138–139.
42. *Ibid.*, pp.125–153.
43. *Ibid.*, p.27.
44. *Siraf: Shahr-e goftegu-ye farhang'ba*, Qasim Yahosseini (Bushehr: Entesharat-e Shoru, 2005), *Shushestan ya Khuzestan* by Seyyed Ahmad Razavi Dezfuli, (Shiraz: Entesharat-e Navid, 2001), *Tarikh-e eqtesadi va siyasi-e khaliq-e fars* by Hamid Asadpur (Tehran: Entesharat-e Muaseseh-ye tahqiqat va touseh-ye olum-e ensani, 2008) are a few examples of works of historiography in this direction.
45. Yusef Azizi Bani Torof, *Arabestan va Khuzestan*, Mahnameh-ye Dilmaj Shomareh-ye 5, Chap-e Tabriz.
46. Yusef Azizi Bani Torof, *Qabayel va ashayer –e arab-e Khuzestan*, and Musa Siyadat, *Tarikh-e Khuzestan az selseleh-ye Afshariyeh ta douran-e moaser* (Tehran, 2000).
47. *Ketab-e Khuzestan* (1) (Tehran: Chap-e Eblagh, 2002) pp.58–59 and *Enqelab-e eslami dar Ahvaz*, Jeld-e Avval (Tehran: Entesharat-e Markaz-e enqelab-e Eslami, 2008), pp.93–107.
48. *Enqelab-e eslami dar Ahvaz*, Jeld-e Avval, pp.75–91and 110–117.
49. *Ibid.*, pp.50–137.
50. *Ketab-e Khuzestan* (1), p.99.
51. Abdolnabi Qayyem: *Pansad sal tarikh-e Khuzestan* (Tehran: Entesharat-e Akhtaran, 2009), p.404.
52. *Ibid.*, pp.349–350.
53. Yusef Azizi Bani Torof, *Zaban-e madari-ye ma, zaban-e arabi, Paltaki, Jonbesh-e federal-e demokrat-e Azarbayjan* 26.02.2010.
54. *Miz-e gerd ba sherkat-e, Bahaeddin Adab, Alireza Sarafi, Yusef Azizi Bani Torof, Abdolaziz Doulatibakhshan va Fariborz Raesdana, Majaleh-ye Naqd-e nou, Shomareh-ye 12.*
55. J.G.A Pocock in *History and Nation*. Edited by Julia Rudolph (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2006), pp.142–143.

56. Habib Bavi Sajed, *Ahmad Mahmoud, Adabiyat-e Iran dar gozar-e zaman-1* (Tehran: Entesharat-e Afraz, 2010), pp.33–39.
57. Ahmad Mahmoud, *Madar-e sefr darajeh* (Tehran: Entesharat-e Mo'in, 1993).
58. Sajed, *Ahmad Mahmoud, Adabiyat-e Iran dar gozar-e zaman-1*, pp.33–39.
59. Ervand Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two revolutions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), p.363.
60. *Ibid.*, pp.363–365.
61. My conversations with a number of veteran oil workers in Khuzestan.
62. J.G.A. Pocock, *The Treaty Between Histories in History and Nation*, Edited by Julia Rudolph (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2006), p.157.
63. *Ketab-e Khuzestan* (1), pp.112–113.
64. Mohammad Reza Alam, *Enqelab-e eslami dar Ahvaz; elal va zamineh'ha-ye enqelab-e eslami*, Jeld-e Avval, and *Enqelab-e eslami dar Ahvaz; Ahvaz dar fajr-e enqelab-e eslami*; Jelde dovvom (Tehran: Entesharat-e Markaz-e enqelab-e Eslami, 2008).
65. Mohammad Reza Alam, *Ahvaz dar fajr-e enqelab-e eslami*. Jeld-e Dovvom, pp.91–141.
66. *Ibid.*, p.603.
67. *Ibid.*, p.607.
68. David Middleton and Derek Edwards, *Collective Remembering* (London: Sage Publications, 1990), p.10.
69. *Ibid.*
70. Yahosseni, *Siraf: Shabr-i goftegu-ye farhang'ha*, pp.38–39.
71. Seyyed Qasem Yahosseni, *Saham Khayyam: dokhtari az Hoveyzeh* (Tehran: Entesharat-e Sureh-ye mehr, 2009).
72. Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), pp.78–82.

4 Politics of Women's Emancipation in Bushehr

1. Gert Biesta, *Towards a New "Logic" of Emancipation: Foucault and Rancière*, in R Glass (ed), *Philosophy of Education*, 2008 (<http://ojs.ed.uiuc.edu/index.php/pes/article/view/1360/110>)
2. Immanuel Kant, *The Educational Theory of Immanuel Kant*, translated and edited with an introduction by Edward Franklin Buchner, in Lippincott Educational Series, edited by Martin G. Brumbaugh, volume IV. (London: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1904), pp.65–66.
3. Maryam Poya, *Women, Work & Islamism: Ideology and Resistance in Iran* (London: Zed Books, 1999), p.7.
4. For instance, Haideh Moghissi was a founder of the National Union of Women affiliated with the Fadaian-e Khalq, the largest secular leftist

- organization in the wake of the 1979 Iranian Revolution.. Janet Afary, *Sexual Politics in Modern Iran* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p.248.
5. Haideh Moghissi, *Populism and Feminism in Iran* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), p.2.
 6. Maryam Poya, *Women, Work & Islamism, Ideology and Resistance in Iran*, p.159.
 7. Haideh Moghissi, *Populism and Feminism in Iran*, pp.74–75.
 8. Ibid, pp.17–18.
 9. Lenin's dictum that Marxian dialectics call for concrete analysis of concrete situations was on the mind of everyone affiliated with the left during the 1979 Iranian Revolution.
 10. Moghissi, *Populism and Feminism in Iran*, p.188.
 11. Ibid.
 12. Ibid., p.190.
 13. This indicates another Leninist posture.
 14. Minoo Moalem, *Warrior Brothers and Veiled Sisters: Islamic Fundamentalism and the Politics of Patriarchy in Iran* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), p.5.
 15. Ibid., pp.5–6.
 16. Ibid., pp.183–184.
 17. Ibid., p.20.
 18. Ibid., p.30.
 19. Ibid., p.16.
 20. Ibid., p.179.
 21. Ibid., p.180
 22. Ibid., p.183.
 23. Ibid.
 24. Rancière, *The Emancipated Spectator*, p.33.
 25. Moalem, *Warrior Brothers and Veiled Sisters*, pp.18–181.
 26. Clifford Greetz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), p.10.
 27. Sadeq Bakhtiari, Majid Dehqanizadeh, Seyyed Mojtaba Hosseinpour, Mahnameh-ye Danesh va touseeh, Nimeh-ye dovom-e 1385, Shomareh-ye 19, pp.32–36. Keramatollah Ziari, *Sanjesh-e darajeh-ye touseeh yaftegi-ye farhangi-ye ostanha-ye keshvar*, Nameh-ye olum-e ejtemaei, Shomareh-ye 16, Payiz va Zemestan-e 1379/Fall and Winter 2000–2001, p.98.
 28. Zahra Rokni, *Zahra Gharibi banuy-e taksiran: Zan nabayad dar mohit-e khaneh mahsur bemand*, Nasir-e Bushehr, Shomareh-ye 365, 17.07.1385/09.10.2006.
 29. Rancière, *The Emancipated Spectator*, p.11.
 30. Mohsen Kadivar, *Nazariyeh'ha-ye doulat dar feqh-e shieh* (Tehran: Ney, 1997), pp.80–86.

31. Mohammad Taqi Mesbah Yazdi, *Nazariyeh-ye siyasi-e eslam in Mohammad Ali Zakariyayi's gofteman-e teorizeh kardan-e khoshunat* (Tahran: Jameeh Iranian, 2000), pp.18–21.
32. Rancière, *The Emancipated Spectator*, p.42.
33. Marzieh Mansurizadeh, *Armangerayi ya vaqiyat*, Nasir-e Bushehr, Shomareh-ye 403, 17. 04.1386/08.07.2007.
34. Rancière, *The Emancipated Spectator*, pp.42–43.
35. Louis Althusser, *Essays on Ideology* (London: Verso, 1984), pp.44–51.
36. Ibid., p.43.
37. Hamideh Sedghi, *Women and Politics in Iran* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp.283–284.
38. Zohreh Alinasab, *Cheguneh mellati hastim*, Nasir-e Bushehr, Shomareh-ye 397, 30.02.1386/20.04.2007.
39. Ibid.
40. Parvin Taj Mohammadi, *Az Fatemeh goftan va neveshtan*, Nasir-e Bushehr, Shomareh-ye 307., 16.05.1384/07.08.2005.
41. Parvin Taj Mohammadi, *Tabu-ye marjaiyat-e dini-ye zanan*, Nasir-e Bushehr, Shomareh-ye 320., 15.08.1384/06.11.2005.
42. Rancière, *On the Shore of Politics*, pp.45–47. Rancière calls the public exposure of the contradiction between laws and deeds of a government and the demand of an individual or a social group to solve the contradiction as a syllogism of emancipation.
43. Ibid.
44. Parvin Taj Mohammadi, *Bardeh dari-ye navin dar asr-e jadid*, Nasir-e Bushehr, Shomareh-ye 324., 13.09.1384/04.12.2005., and the Iranian Constitution article 3 section 16.
45. Ibid.
46. Parvin Taj Mohammadi, *Barrasi-ye mozahematha-ye jensi dar mohit-e kar, Az Fatemeh Gofthan va neveshtan*, Nasir-e Bushehr, Shomareh-ye 326., 27.09.1384/18.12.2005.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. Shahla Shakerdargah, *Mohit'ha-ye kari salemtarin makan baray-e hozur-e zan dar arseh-ye faaliyat-e ejtemaei*, Nasir-e Bushehr, Shomareh-ye 330, 25.10.1384/15.01.2006.
50. Ibid.
51. Parvin Taj Mohammadi, *Naqd-eyekjavabiyeh, matlab-e Shabla Shakerdargah*, Nasir-e Bushehr, Shomare-ye 332, 09.10.1384/30.12.2005.
52. Shahla Shakerdargah, *Lozum-e dindari dar asr-e hazer*, Nasir-e Bushehr, Shomareh-ye 334, 30.11.1384/19.02.2006.
53. Parvin Taj Mohammadi, *Zarurat-e ejtehad-e puya dar hoquq-e zanan*, Nasir-e Bushehr, Shomareh-ye 333, 16.11.1384/05.02.2006.
54. Parvin Taj Mohammadi, *Aghaz-e feminism-e doulati va oful-e jonbesh-e zanan*, Nasir-e Bushehr, Shomareh-ye 349, 21.03.1385/11.06.2006.

55. Parvin Taj Mohammadi, *Seyr-e andisbeh-ye tajadodgerayi-ye zanan dar jahan-e eslam*, Nasir-e Bushehr, Shomareh-ye 368, 07.08.1385/29.10.2006.
56. Ibid. What Taj Mohammadi describes as secularist feminism, I have defined as the Iranian branch of universalist feminism.
57. Parvin Taj Mohammadi, *Aghaz-e feminism-e doulati va oful-e jonbesh-e zanan*, Nasir-e Bushehr, Shomareh-ye 349, 21.03.1385/11.06.2006.
58. Parvin Taj Mohammadi, *Ehqaq-e hoquq-e zanan va paybandi beh sonnat'ha*, Nasir-e Bushehr, Shomareh-ye 356, 07.05.1385/29.07.2006.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.
61. Pegah Izadpanah, *Javanan az enerzhi-ye hastehi miguyand*. Nasir-e Bushehr, Shomareh-ye 335, 07.12.1384/25.02.2006.
62. Zahra Rokni, *Dar hashiyeh-ye bitavajohi-ye ravabet-e omumi beh khabarnegar-e Nasir-e Bushehr*, Nasir-e Bushehr, Shomareh-ye 335, 07.12.1384/26.02.2006.
63. Mansoureh Hekmat Shoar, *Raisi hambang nabudeh?! Ma ham nemishavim*, Nasir-e Bushehr, Shomareh-ye 412, 25.06.1385/16.09.2006.
64. Maryam Khuyini, *Asaluyeh, Kubideh va Kafimit*, Nasir-e Bushehr, Shomareh-ye 405, 31.04.1386/22.07.2007.
65. *Sotun-e fahmikhteh*, Nasir-e Bushehr, Shomareh-ye 371, 27.08.1385/18.11.2006.
66. Mariyam Khuyini, *Sheikh Saqqa Rais-e shoura-ye eslami-ye Shahr-e Bushehr: Kheili az radd-e Salahiyat'ha jaygab-e qanuni nadard*. Nasir-e Bushehr, Shomareh-ye 371, 27.08.1385/18.11.2006.
67. Nasir-e Bushehr, Yekshanbeh 20.12.1385/11.03.2007, and Vizhehnmah-ye Nouruz 1386/2007, and Nasir-e Bushehr, Shomareh-ye 397, 30.02.1386/20.05.2007.
68. Shokoufeh Disi, *Barrasi-ye honar dar Siraf, qesmat-e avval*, Nasir-e Bushehr, Shomareh-ye 328, 11.10.1384/01.01.2006., and *Shokoufeh Disi, Barrasi-ye honar dar Siraf, qesmat-e dovvom*, Nasir-e Bushehr, Shomareh-ye 329, 18.10.1384/08.01.2006.
69. Shokoufeh Disi, *Barrasi-ye honar dar Siraf, qesmat-e sevvom*, Nasir-e Bushehr, Shomareh-ye 330, 25.10.1384/15.01.2006.
70. Ashraf Soltani Nia, *Yademan bashad*, Nasir-e Bushehr, Shomareh-ye 332, 09.11.1384/29.01.2006.
71. Zahra Rezaei Tarhani, *Asib shenasi-ye neshastha-ye adaabi*, Nasir-e Bushehr, Shomareh-ye 349, 21.03.1385/11.06.2006.
72. Siyahpush, *Qaziye-ye aqa-ye X*, Nasir-e Bushehr, Shomareh-ye 378, 13.10.1385/03.01.2007.
73. *Leila* (1996) made by Dariush Mehrjui one of the founders of Iranian new wave cinema in the 1970s.
74. *Bride of Fire* (2000) made by Khosrow Sinayi.
75. Nasim-e Jonoub, Shomareh-ye 313, 19.07.1383/10.10.2004.
76. Mozhdah Ghazanfari, *Yek film, yek negah, yek defa*, Nasim-e Jonoub, Shomareh-ye 503, 31.03.1387/21.06.2008.

77. Mozhdeh Ghazanfari, *Yaddashti bar filme jodayi-ye Nader az Simin, sekans-e akbar...*, Nasim-e Jonoub, Shomareh-ye 619, 07.02.1390/27.04.2011.
78. Mozhdeh Ghazanfari, *Vaqti zanha az bess-e penhaneshan miguyand.*, Nasim-e Jonoub, Shomareh-ye 517, 07.07.1387/28.09.2008.
79. Rancière, *The Emancipated Spectator*, p.72.
80. Mozhdeh Ghazanfari, *Va inak film-e fakher, amma nahif*, Nasim-e Jonoub, Shomareh-ye 601, 18.08.1389/09.11.2010.
81. Mozhdeh Ghazanfari, *Dou film ba yek belit*, Nasim-e Jonoub, Shomareh-ye 510, 20.05.1387/10.08.2008.
82. Mozhdeh Ghazanfari, *Tasvir yani beist va harf bezan*, Nasim-e Jonoub, Shomareh-ye 609, 18.10.1389/08.01.2011.
83. Raheleh Sadat Hosseini, *Khusheh'ha-ye khashm*, Peygham, 11.09.1389/02.12.2010.
84. Rancière, *Dissensus*, p.184.
85. Ibid., pp.188–189.
86. Moalem, *Warrior Brothers and Veiled Sisters*, p.171.
87. Rancière, *Dissensus*, p.57.
88. Davis: *Jacque Rancière*, pp.89–90.
89. Ibid., p.71.
90. Rancière, *The Emancipated Spectator*, p.47.
91. Ibid., p.56.

5 The Public Sphere and Politics of Identity in Khuzestan

1. A huge number of newspapers, magazines, and books published during the first four years of Khatami's presidency (1997–2001) seemed dedicated to the debates on the concepts of civil society and public sphere.
2. *Goftegu dar bareh-ye jameeh-ye madani dar partou-e rouydad-e dovvom-e khordad*, Fasnameh-ye Etelaat-e siyasi eqtesadi (Miz-e gerd ba Hushang Amir Ahmadi, Mostafa Amani, Davud Hermidas Bavand, Hossein Bashiriyeh, Parviz Piran, Said Hajjarian), Shomareh-ye 117–118, Khordad va Tir-e 1376/ May-June-July 1997, pp.4–47.
3. A scholar claimed that he should have taken the entire credit for initiating the debate on civil society in Iran years before Khatami's election. *Monazereh ba Houshang Amir Ahmadi*, Fasnameh-ye Ketab-e naqd, Shomareh-ye 9–10, Zemestan va Bahar 1377–1378/Winter-Spring 1998–1999, pp.34–35.
4. Fasnameh-ye Etelaat-e siyasi eqtesadi, Shomareh-ye 117&118, Khordad va Tir-e 1376/ May-June-July 1997, p.10
5. Jurgen Habermas, in *Jurgen Habermas and the Public Sphere*, edited by Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1997), p.453.
6. Ibid., p.454.
7. Said Amir Aarjomand, *After Khomeini: Iran under His Successors* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), p.128.

8. Two Persian terms, *Faza-ye omumi* and *Houzeh-ye omumi*, are used synonymously for public sphere.
9. Sadeq Zibakalam, *Aksha-ye yadegari ba jameeh-ye madani* (Tehran: Ruzaneh, 1999), pp.9–22.
10. To mention a few: Farhad Khosrokhavar and Olivier Roy, *Iran: Comment Sortir d'une Révolution Religieuse* (Paris: Edition du Seuil, 1999), Daniel Brumberg, *Reinventing Khomeini: The Struggle for Reform in Iran* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), and Amir Aarjomand, *After Khomeini* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).
11. To give few examples: Kaveh Ehsani, Social Engineering and the Contradictions of Modernization in Khuzestan's Company Towns: A Look at Abadan and Masjed-Soleiman, in *International Review of Social History*, 2003, volume 48, issue 03, pp.361–399, and *The Urban Provincial Periphery in Iran, Revolution and War in Rambormoz*, pp.38–76, by the same author, and Nayereh Tohidi's Ethnicity and Religious Minority in Iran, pp.299–323 in *Contemporary Iran: Economy, Society, Politics*, Edited by Ali Gheissari (Oxford University Press, 2009), and Touraj Atabaki's, From Multilingual Empire to Contested Modern State, in *Iran in the 21st Century: Politics, Economics, and Conflict*, edited by Homma Katouzian and Hoosein Shahidi (Routledge, 2008), pp.41–62.
12. Writing about the historical expansion of social space in the periphery and the rights of minorities as discussed by Nayereh Tohidi and Kaveh Ehsani is not the same as writing about intellectual and political subjectivity in the periphery and among the minorities. See Nayereh Tohidi, Ethnicity and Religious Minority Politics, pp.229–323, and Kaveh Ehsani, The Urban Provincial Periphery in Iran: Revolution and War in Ramhormoz, pp.38–76. in *Contemporary Iran: Economy, Society, Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010),
13. *Touseeh-ye mantaqeh'i olaviyat-e rahbordi*, Nasim-Jonoub, 19.01.1386 /07.04.2007., Reza Rabiei, *Taneshha-ye qoumi dar salha-ye avval-e enqelab*, Faslnameh-ye Gotegu, Bahar-e 79, Shomareh-ye 27, Yusef Azizi Bani Torof in Miz-e gerd: *Tanavo-e qoumi dar Iran; chaleshha va for-satha*, Faslnameh-ye Motaleate farhangi, Shomareh-ye 8 Tabestan 1380/ Summer 2001, pp.241–273 and Shomareh-ye 9, Payiz 1380/Fall 2001, pp.319–374.
14. According to my own account, at least forty-five local newspapers were published in Khuzestan and thirty-one in Busheher, during Khatami's presidency. Newspapers such as *Ruzan*, *Hamsayeh'ha*, *Nour-e Khuzestan*, *Farhang-e Jonoub*, *Karun*, *Sobb-e Karun*, and *Asr-e-Karun* in Khuzestan, and *Nasim-e Jonoub*, *Peygham-e*, *Daliran-e Tangestan*, *Nasir-e Bushehr* and *Ettehad-e Jonoub* in Bushehr, were among the most popular newspapers.
15. A great number of books on Khuzestan were published during this period.
16. Hafteh nameh-ye Asr-e Karun, 19 Tir-e 1383/09.07.2004.

17. Fasnameh-ye Motaleat-e melli, Shomareh-ye 9, Payiz 1380/Fall 2001, pp.343–344.
18. Iran newspaper, 31 Farvardin 1384/20.04. 2005.
19. Here I am not referring to those people involved in the real acts of violence or those accused by the state apparatus of having been involved in such acts, since many of those who had been accused of having a role in the violence were peaceful activists of politics of identity in the public sphere.
20. Jurgen Habbermas, in *Jurgen Habermas and the Public Sphere*, edited by Craig Calhoun, (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1997), pp.423–424.
21. Ibid., p.424.
22. Ibid., p.425.
23. Ibid., p.428.
24. Ibid., p.452.
25. Seyla Benhabib, in *Jurgen Habermas and the Public Sphere*, pp.84–85.
26. Ibid., p.79.
27. Ibid., p.123.
28. Ibid., p.124.
29. Davis, Jacques Rancière, pp.78–84.
30. Ibid., p.91.
31. Ibid., p.100.
32. Ibid., pp.31–32.
33. Arjomand, *After Khomeini*, pp.95–96.
34. Iranian Constitution, Article 19, and *Obur az Khatami*: Majmueh-ye maqalat, mohandes Mohsen Armin, doctor Seyyed Hasehm Aqajari, doktor Hossein Bashiriyeh, edited by Amir Reza Setudeh (Tehran: Zekr, 2001), p.12.
35. Brumberg, *Reinventing Khomeini*, pp.181–184.
36. Asef Bayat, *Making Islam Democratic: Social Movements and the Post-Islamist Turn* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), p.102.
37. Samad Kalantari, Etelaat-e siyasi-eqtesadi, Shomareh-ye 167–168, Mordad va Shahrivar-e 1380/July-August-September, p.168.
38. Saïd Amir Arjomand, *After Khomeini*, p.132, and Daniel Brumberg, *Reinventing Khomeini*, p.244.
39. Doumahnameh-ye Mobaleghan, *Pazhouheshi dar masaleh-ye nezarat-e estevabi*, Shomareh-ye 37, Bahman 1381/January-February 2002, p.113.
40. Hassan Ali Marusi and Jameeh-ye madani, *Negahi beh asar-e montasher shodeh beh zaban-e farsi*, Motaleat-e Rahbordi, Shomareh-ye 2, Zemestan-e 1377/Winter 1998–99, pp.217–236. Reza Haqqanah, *Jameeh-ye madani dar ayineh-ye maktubat va hamayesh'ha*, Payiz 1377/Fall 1998, Fasnameh-ye Anidisheh-ye houzeh, Shomareh-ye 14, pp.279–287. Jafar Haqqanah, *Jameeh-ye madani va qoumiyat'ha dar jomhuri-ye eslami-ye Iran*, Fasnamah-ye Motaleat-e rahbordi, Shomareh-ye 2, Zemestan-e 1377/Winter 1998–99, pp.129–144.
41. Taqi Azad Armaki, Fasnameh-ye Jameeh shenasi-ye Iran, Shomareh-ye 17, Bahar-e 1383/Spring 2004, pp.85–86. Merhnaz Naqibi, *Mosharekat-e*

- zanan; *Ravand demokrasi khahi, Houzeh-ye omumi*, Faslnameh-ye Rasaneh, Shomareh-ye 59, Payiz 1383/Fall 20004, pp.183–185. Ebrahim Hajiyani, Faslnameh-ye Motaleat-e Rahbordi, Shomareh-ye 11&12, Bahar va Tabestan 1380/ Spring and Summer 2001, pp.129–135. Mohammad Reza Ahmadi, *Daramadi bar qoumiyat gerayi va tahdidat-e amniyat-e melli dar Iran*, Faslnameh-ye Payam, Shomareh-ye 78, Vizheh-ye Ramezan-e 1385/2006, pp.65–78. Mahmoud Alipur, *Pluralism borun dini az manzar-e jameeh-ye madani*, Doumahnameh-ye Ravaq-e andisheh, Shomareh-ye 3, Mehr va Aban-e 1380/September-October, November, pp.115–128. Hosseinali Nouzari, *Jonbesh'ha-ye ejtemaei: Surat'ha-ye jadid sar bar miavarand.*, Faslnameh-ye Kitab-e mah-e olum-e ejtemaei, Shomareh-ye 82, Mordad 1383/July-August 2004, pp.51–59. Parviz Piran, *Faqr va jonbesh'ha-ye ejtemaei dar Iran*, Faslnameh-ye Refah-e ejtemaei, Shomareh-ye 18, Payiz 1384/Fall 2005, pp.11–44.
42. Mohammadreza Jalayipur, *Doulat-e penhan: barrasi-ye jameh shenakhti-ye avamel-e tahdid konandeh-ye eslahat* (Tehran: Entesharat-e Tarh-e Nou, 2000), pp.27–29.
 43. Ibid., pp.136–139.
 44. Kaveh Ehsani, *Social Engineering and the Contradictions of Modernization in Khuzestan's Company Towns*.
 45. Jalal Al-e Ahmad, *Gozareshi az Khuzestan*, Faslnameh-ye Arash, Shomareh-ye 11, Tabestan 1345/Summer 1966, pp.146–147.
 46. Ibid.
 47. Ali Amini, *Barrasi-ye adam-e taadol'ha-ye mantaqeh'i-ye bazaar-e kolle keshvar*, Faslnameh-ye Barnameh va Budjeh, Shomareh-ye 86, Mordad va Shahrivar 1383/July-August-september 2004, pp.11–12.
 48. Ruznameh-ye Arman, *Gerantarin va arazntarin ostanha-ye Iran Kodamand?* 13 Deymah-e 1389/December-January 2010–2011.
 49. Kaveh Ehsani, *Bohran-e ab, bohran-e Abadan, Faslnameh-ye Gotegu*, Bahar-e 1379, Shomareh-ye 27, pp.162–172, and *Jamejamonline, Enteqale ab-e Karun va cheraghi keh beh khaneh ravast*, 31 Khordad 1389/21.06.2010.
 50. *Open letter to President Mahmoud Ahmadinezhad*, The Islamic Associations of Scholars of Shahid Chamran, Olum-e Pezeshki Jondi Shahpur Ahvaz, Keshavarzi va manabe-e tabiei-ye Ramin Universities. Ruznameh Qods, 01. Tir 1389/22.06.2010, and www.ibnanews.com, 23 Bahman 1387/11.02.2009.
 51. *Eshteghal-e nirou'ha-ye gheyr-e bumi hamchunan mozal-e Khuzestan ast*, www.icana.ir, Iran's parliament official news-agency, 06 Azar 1389/27.11.2010.
 52. Asghar Eftekhari, *Zarfiyat-e tabiei-ye amniyat (Moured-e motaleati-ye qoumiyat va khoshunat dar Iran)*, Motaleat-e Rahbordi, Shomareh-ye 5–6, Payiz va Zemestan-e 377–1378/Fall and Winter 1998–99, pp.41–42, Mostafa Malakutiyan, *Moqadameh'i bar joghrafiya-ye siyasi va ahamiyat-e strategic-e Iran*, Majaleh-ye Hoquq, Daneshkadeh-ye Hoquq va

- olum-e siyasi Daneshgah-e Tehran, Shomareh-ye 63, Bahar-e 1383/Spring 2004, p.216 give two different population figures of Iranian Arabs in Khuzestan.
53. Rasoul Rabbani, Hamidreza Varesi, Forugholsadat Arizi, and Mohammadreza Hosseini, *Barrasi-ye avamel-e mouaser bar sheklgiri-ye masaleh-ye hashiyeh neshini va paymadha-ye ejtemaei-ye an dar shahr-e Ahvaz*, Faslnameh-ye Joghrafia va Touseeh, Shomareh-ye 7, Bahar va Tabestan 1385/Winter-Summer 2006, pp.91–92.
 54. Ali Yusefi, *Tabaqeh bandi –ye ejtemaei-e aqvam dar Iran*, Faslnameh-ye Motaleat-e melli, Shomareh-ye 9, Payiz 1380/Fall 2001, p.212.
 55. Morteza Omidian, *Moqayeseh-ye vaziyat-e hoviyat-yabi-ye danesh'amuzan-e pish daneshgahi dar goruha-ye qoumi-ye ostan-e Khuzestan*, Faslnamah-ye Motaleat-e melli, Shomareh-ye 28, Zemestan-e 85/Winter 2006–2007, pp.116–122. Abdolreza Navah, Seyyed Mojtaba Taqavinasab and Hossein Qaemifar, *Tasir-e bod-e farhangi-ye jahani shodan bar hoviyat-e qoumi (Moured-e motaleeh: Danesh'juyan-e Arab-e daneshgah'ha-ye Ahvaz)*, Faslnameh-ye Touseeh-ye ensani, Nashriyeh-e Takhasosi-ye daneshkadeh-ye eqtesad va olum-e ensani, Daneshgah Shahid Chamran, Doureh-ye avval, Shomareh-ye Chaharom, Tabestan-e 1386/Summer 2007, pp.7–24.
 56. Farhang Ershad and Zohreh Monajemzadeh, *Shenasayi-ye avamel-e mouaser bar mohajerat-e ruzaneh-ye zanan-e manateq-e rustayi beh shahr-e Dezful, baray-e kar va Sanjesh-e didgah-e anan dar ertebat ba har yek az avamel*, Faslnameh-ye Touseeh-ye ensani, Doureh-ye avval, Shomareh-ye Chaharom, Tabestan-e 1386/ Summer 2007pp.112–142, Kiyani Tajbakhsh, *Arus-e atash, Zanan, Sonnat va chalesh-e pish-e ru*, Faslnameh-ye Goftegu, Shomareh-ye 38, Azar 1382/November–December, p.10.
 57. Abdolnabi Qayyem, *Qoumiyat va qoumiyat gerayi dar Iran az afsaneh ta vaqeyyat*, Faslnameh-ye Motaleat-e melli, Shomareh-ye 8, Tabestan-e 80/Summer 2001, pp.187–206., Yusef Azizi Bani Torof, *Chera abzab va shakhsiyat'ha-ye arabi dar entekhabat-e shouraha-ye Khuzestan entekhab shodand*. Published in <http://asre-nou.net/>, 21 Esfand 1381/ 12.03. 2003.
 58. Iran Newspaper 02.03.2003 and 03.03.2003.
 59. Non-Arab reform-oriented intellectuals and activists were mostly preoccupied with the future of reform in a united front for democracy. See *Asibshenasi-ye jaraian-e raushnfeكري dar Iran-e Moaser. Faslnameh-ye Jameh shenasi-ye Iran*. Shomareh-ye 31, Payiz 1386/Fall 2007, pp.105–152.
 60. Reza Rabieci, *Tanesh'ha-ye qoumi dar Khuzestan dar avvale enqelab, (Yek enteqad)*, Faslnameh-ye Goftegu, Shomareh-ye 27, Bahar-e 1379/Spring 2000, pp.195–196.
 61. Abdolnabi Qayyem, *Qoumiyat va qoumiyat gerayi dar Iran az afsaneh ta vaqeyyat*, p.205.
 62. Abdolnabi Qayyem, *Iran shenasi; Negahi beh zendegi va farhang-e mardom-e Arab-e Khuzestan*, Faslnameh-ye Motaleat-e melli, Shomareh-ye 7, Bahar-e 1380/Spring 2001, p.221.

63. Abdolmajid Ahangari, *Arzyabi-ye darejeh-ye shahrestanha-ye ostan-e Khuzestan, va nabarabari-ye mantaqeh'i dar ostan* (1378, 1382) *Faslnameh-ye Barrasi-ye eqtesadi*, Shomareh-ye 10, Tabestan-e 1385/Summer 2006.
64. Yusef Azizi Bani Torof, in Rasmus Christian Elling, ph.d-affhandling, *The Minority Issue: Nationalism and Ethnic Identity in Iran After Khomeini* (Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, 2010), p.66.
65. Abdolreza Navah/Seyyed Mojtaba Taqavinasab, *Tasir ehsas-e mahrumiyat-nesbi bar hoviyat-e qoumi, hoviyat-e melli: Motaleeh-ye Arab-e Khuzestan*, Majaleh-ye Jameeh shenasi Iran, Doureh-ye hashtom, Shomareh-ye 2, Tabestan-e 1386/Summer 2007, pp.142–163.
66. Arabs of Khuzestan not only supported Khatami against his rival in the 1997 presidential election, but also supported him against their own Arab presidential candidate (Ali Shamkhani) in 2001. *Iran Newspaper* 21.03.1380/11.06.2001.
67. Hafteh nameh-ye Asr-e Karun, 10.02.1383/30.04.2004.
68. According to the Arab intellectual and activist Azizi-ye Bani Torof, 65% of 4.5 million of the Khuzestan population are Arabs. *Faslnameh-ye Motaleat-e melli*, Tabestan-e 1380, Shomareh-ye 8, p.249. The estimate of the Arab population in Khuzestan is modified by another Arab intellectual and historian of the region. See Abdolnabi Qayyem, *Faslnameh-ye Motaleat-e melli*, Shomareh-ye 7, Bahar-e 1380/Spring 2001, p.193.
69. Hossein Hataminezhad, *Tabavolat-e jamiyati-ye shahr'ha-ye Khuzestan*, *Faslnameh-ye olum-e joghrafiyayi*, Shomareh-ye 1, Bahar-e 1385/Spring 2006, pp.118–120.
70. Rasoul Rabbani, Hamidreza Varesi, Forugholsadat Arizi, and Mohammadreza Hosseini, *Barrasi-ye avamel-e mouaser bar sheklgiri-ye masaleh-ye hashiyeh neshini va payamadha-ye ejtemaei-ye an dar shahr-e Ahvaz*, *Dou Faslnameh-ye Joghrafiya va touseeh*, Shomareh-ye 7, Bahar va Tabestaaan 1385/Spring-Summer 2006, pp.110–111.
71. A great number of books and articles on Khuzestani Arabs have been published by Khuzestani Arab authors since the 1990s. *Qabayel va ashayer-e Arab-e Khuzestan* by Azzi Bani Torof, *Tarikh-e Khuzestan az doureh-ye Afshariyeh ta doureh-ye moaser* by Mosa Siyadat, and *Pansad sal Tarikh-e Khuzestan* by Abdolnabi Qayyem are among some of the works.
72. Hafteh nameh Asr-e Karun, 19.04.1383/09.07.2004.
73. Abdolreza Navah & Seyyed Mojtaba Taqavinasab, *Tasir-e mahrumiyat-nesbi bar hoviyat-e qoumi va hoviyat-e melli*, pp.161–162.
74. Yusef Azizi Bani Torof, *Qoumiyat va touseeh dar Iran*, Paper presented in Hamayesh-e hamandishi-ye pazhuhesh'garan va nazariyeh pardazan-e keshvar, organized by Muaseseh -ye Ali-ye amuzesh va pazhuhesh modiriyat va barnameh'rizi keshvar, 11–13 Esfand 1381. Published in *Atanews*, Payegah-e elmi, khabari, amuzeshi va etelaresani. <http://atanews.com>. 12.01.1390/01.04.2011.

75. Bhikhu Parekh, Redistribution or Recognition? A Misguided Debate, in *Ethnicity, Nationalism, and Minority Rights*, edited by Stephan May, Tariq Modood, and Judith Squires (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp.199–202.
76. Hafteh nameh-ye Asr-e Karun, 19.04.1383/09.07.2004.
77. The Participation Front of Islamic Iran (Hezb-e Mosharekat-e Iran-e Eslami), the Organization of the Mojahedin of the Islamic Revolution (Sazeman-e Mojahedin-e Enqelab-e Eslami), and the political groups known as Melli Mazhabi, which have been critical of the Islamic Republic since the early 1980s, were the most influential of these reform-oriented forces.
78. The film *Arus-e atash*, made by Khosrow Sinayi in 1999, displays the common understanding of the mainstream Iranian intellectuals' understanding of Iranian Arabs, which is a replication of an orientalist perception of the Orient in the European mind.
79. Davud Gharayeq Zandi, *Iraniyan –e Aarab tabar, Mardom shenasi: sakhtar-e qoumi-ye mardom-e Khuzestan* (Tehran: Nashr-e Afkar, 2006), pp.135–141.
80. Yusef Aziz Bani Torof, *Musiqiy-e Arabi dar Khuzestan* dar Talare Anidishesh-ye Houzeh-ye Honari-ye Tehran 25.02.83/14.05.2004, published 14/04.1387/04.07.2008, in <http://www.khuzestanclub.com> (sayt-e Khuzestaniha-ye Moqim-e Tehran).
81. The open letter of an Arab member of the sixth parliament (2000–2004) to Iran's president Mohammad Khatami, regarding the Arab demonstrations and violence in Khuzestan in April 2005.
82. Ibid.
83. Yusef Azizi Bani Torof in Miz-e gerd, *Tanavo-e qoumi dar Iran; chalesh'ha va forsas'ha*, Faslnameh-ye Motaleate farhangi, Shomareh-ye 8 Tabestan-e 1380/Summer 2001, pp.241–273 and Shomareh-ye 9, Paiyz 1380/Fall 2001, pp.319–374. The publication of *Pansad sal tarikh-e Khuzestan* authored by Abdolnabi Qayyem, a critical response to Ahmad Kasravi's *Tarikh-e pansad saleh Khuzestan*, is one of the recent attempts to challenge anti-Arab Iranian nationalism in the public sphere.
84. There appeared a flow of articles and statements on repressive Arab cultural traditions in Khuzestan during the reform movement. Amanollah Qarayi Moqaddam, *Qatlhay-e namusi ya Nahveh kardan dar miyan qabayel-e Arab-e Khuzestan*, Faslnameh-ye Hoquqi va qazayi-ye dadgostari, Shomareh-ye 32, Payiz 1379/Fall 2000, pp.75–92.
85. Iran Newspaper 03.03.2003.
86. An interesting conversation between a veteran liberal-nationalist politician and an outspoken Khuzestani Arab intellectual and activist. In Gotogo-ye Yusef Azizi Bani Torof ba Ebrahim Yazdi, www.akhbar-rooz.com published in 19.06.2007.
87. Hamidreza Jalayipur, *Forupashi ya ashoftegi-ye ejtemaei dar Iran*, 1376–1384, Faslnameh-ye Jameeh shenasi-ye Iran, Shomareh-ye 27, Paiyz 1385/Fall 2006, p.67.

88. Azizi Bani Torof, *Chera ahzab va shakhsiyat'ha-ye Arabi dar entekhabat-e shouraha-ye Khuzestn entekhab shodand*. Published in <http://asre-nou.net/>, 21.12.1381/12.03. 2003.
89. Ruznameh-ye Hamshahri 11.12.1381/02.03. 2003.
90. Mahnameh-ye Dilmaj, Shomareh-ye 5, Chape Tabriz.
91. Hafteh nameh Ruzan, 16.09.1382/07.12.2003.
92. Ruznameh-ye Hamshahri, 20.03.1382/10.06. 2003.
93. Le-Jannat al-WefaQ started its activity with its released manifest called Manifest-e Le-Jannat al-WefaQ al-Eslami in February 2000.
94. Hafteh nameh-ye Neda-ye Jonoub, 03.10. 1382/24.12.2003.
95. Hafteh nameh-ye Asr-e Karun, 19.04.1383/09.07.2004.
96. Ibid.
97. Ibid.
98. Hafteh nameh-ye Ruzan, 16.09.1382/07.12.2003, and Iran Newspaper, 28.01.1384/17.04. 2005.
99. *Open letter Mohammad Khatami* by Jasem Shahdidzadeh, a member of the sixth parliament (2000–2004) to regarding the Arab demonstrations and violence in Khuzestan in April 2005.
100. Iran newspaper, 31.01.1384/20.04.2005.
101. Jamal Shafiei, Faslnameh-ye Motaleat-e rahbordi, Shomareh-ye 21, Payiz 1382/Fall 2003, pp.651–658, and Hafteh nameh-ye Asr-e Karun, 19.04.1383/09.07.2004.
102. Hafteh nameh-ye Asr-e Karun, 19.04.1383/09.07.2004. Iran Newspaper 25.02.1 384/15.05.2005.
103. In fact, the clashes in Khuzestan were one of the most important factors damaging the reform-oriented public discourse because they coincided with the occupation of Iraq by the U.S. and its allies. This made Khuzestan the most important security issue for Iran.
104. Ibid.
105. *Open letter to Khatami* by the Arab parliament member.
106. *Conversation between Yusef Azizi Bani Torof and Ebrahim Yazdi*.
107. Ibid.
108. The explosive increase of nongovernmental organizations and newspapers at the national and local levels supported by Khatami's government indicated this objective. See Jahangir Amuzgar, *Arzyabi-ye Karnameh-ye Khatami, Doureh-ye nakhost*, 1376–1379, Faslnameh-ye Iran Nameh, Shomareh-ye 76, Payiz 1380/Fall 2001, p.431.
109. Nayereh Tohidi, Ethnicity and Religious Minority Politics in Iran, *in Contemporary Iran: Economy, Society, Politics*, edited by Ali Gheisari (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p.308 and p.321, endnote 39. According to Article 15, "The official language and script of Iran, the lingua franca of its people, is Persian. Official documents, correspondence, and texts, as well as text-books, must be in this language and script. However, the use of regional and tribal languages in the press and mass media, as well as for teaching of their literature in schools, is allowed in addition to

- Persian.” According to Article 19. “All people of Iran, whatever the ethnic group or tribe to which they belong, enjoy equal rights; and color, race, language, and the like, do not bestow any privilege.” And finally according to Article 48. “There must be no discrimination among the various provinces with regard to the exploitation of natural resources, utilization of public revenues, and distribution of economic activities among the various provinces and regions of the country, thereby ensuring that every region has access to the necessary capital and facilities in accordance with its needs and capacity for growth.”
110. Arjomand, *After Khomeini*, p.132.
 111. Tohidi, *Ethnicity and Religious Minority Politics in Contemporary Iran*, p.308, and Yusef Azizi Bani Torof, *Chera Abzab va Shakhshiyatha.ye Arabi dar Entekhabat-e Shoraha-ye Khuzestn Entekhab Shodand*.
 112. Tohidi, *Ethnicity and Religious Minority Politics in Contemporary Iran*, p.308.
 113. *Conversation between Yusef Azizi Bani Torof and Ebrahim Yazdi*.
 114. Abdolnabi Qayyem, *Faslnameh-ye Motaleat-e melli*, *Shomareh-ye 7, Bahar-e 1380/Spring 2001*, p.221.
 115. Making Arabic and other minority languages in Iran into languages of education would have been unacceptable not only to the conservative forces that had the upper hand in Iran’s political structure, but also to other political orientations convinced of Persian as Iran’s lingua franca. See, for instance, Jalal Matini, *Zaban-e farsi zaban-e rasmi-ye tamam-e mardom-e Iran Ast*, *Faslnameh-ye Iran Nameh*, *Shomareh-ye 3, Bahar-e 1362/Spring 1983*, Changiz Pahlavan, *Babsi dar zamineh-ye siyasat-e farhangi-ye zaban-e farsi va touseeh-ye melli*, *Faslnameh-ye Iran Nameh*, *Shomareh-ye 27, Bahar-e 1368/Spring 1989*, pp.507–525, Hamid Ahmadi, *hoviyat-e melli-ye Irani: bonyad’ha, chalesh’ha, va bayesteh’ha*, *Faslnameh-ye Nameh-ye Pazhuhesh*, *Shomareh-ye 6, Tabestan-e 1382/Summmer 2003.*, pp.20–22.
 116. Reza Rabiei, *Taneshha-ye qoumi dar salha-ye avval-e enqelab*, *Faslnameh-ye Gotegu*, *Shomareh-ye 27, Bahar-e 79/Spring 2000*.
 117. Nancy Fraser, *Unruly Practices: Power, Discourse, and Gender in Contemporary Social theory* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), pp.181–183.
 118. Omid Bonakdar, *Yaddashti bar film Arus-e atash, Gham-e in khofteh-ye chand*, *Mahnameh-ye Hoquq-e zanan*, *Shomareh-ye 17, Sharivar 1379/September-October 2000*, pp.32–33, and Kiyān Tajbakhsh, *Arus-e atash, zanan, Sonnat va chalesh-e pish-e ru*, *Faslnameh-ye Goftegu*, *Shomareh-ye 38, Azar 1382/November-December 2003*, pp.149–158.
 119. Iran newspaper 03.03.2003. Najmeh Hamid, Manizheh Jsemnezhad, and Belqeys Beytmashal received the most votes in the Ahvaz city council elections.

6 Politics of Public Speech in Bushehr

1. James Petras, <http://www.globalresearch.ca/iranian-elections-the-stolen-elections-hoax/14018>

2. While Western media was preoccupied with the role of the middle class in the green movement and, thus, its limits, analysts of Iran were preoccupied with the movement's democratic nature, which went beyond sociological barriers. See for instance a comprehensive collection of analysis of the green movement in: *The People Reloaded: The Green Movement and the Struggle for Iran's Future*, edited by Nader Hashemi and Danny Postel (Brooklyn, NY: Melville House, 2010).
3. James W. Ceaser, *Liberal Democracy & Political Science* (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), p.157.
4. Welch, *The Concept of Political Culture*, p.17.
5. *Ibid.*, p.31
6. *Ibid.*, pp.20–21.
7. Rancière, *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy*, p.28
8. *Ibid.*, p.61
9. *Ibid.*, p.29.
10. Jean-Philippe Deranty (ed), *Jacque Rancière Key Concepts* (Durham, NC: Acumen, 2010), p.63.
11. Jacques Rancière, *Hatred of Democracy* (London: Verso, 2006), pp.72–73.
12. Jean-Philippe Deranty (ed), *Jacques Rancière Key Concepts*, p.73.
13. *Ibid.*, p.76.
14. Deranty (ed), *Jacques Rancière Key Concepts*, p.68.
15. *Sarshomari-ye nofus va maskan 1385 koll-e keshvar va ostān-e Bushehr*, Moavenat-e barnameh rizi-ye ostān-e Bushehr Shahrivar va Mehr 1385 published in official website of Bushehr's Provincial Government's Department of Management and Planning, <http://www.mpo-bs.ir/statics.php?id=224>.
16. The share of the taxes of the city and its dependent districts to the central government amounted to 278,0000 Iranian Rial in 1873–1874. J.G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of Persian Gulf, Oman, and Central Arabia, Vol I: Historical Part II* (Farbborough: Greg International Publishers, 1970), p.2057.
17. Sam Rasayi Keshuk, *Shokouh-e Abushahr* (Bushehr: Entesharat-e Shoru, 2005), pp.33–42.
18. Doumahnameh-ye Barrasi'ha-ye tarikhi, Shomareh-ye 20–21, Khordad ta Shahrivar 1348/From May to September 2005, pp. 232–253.
19. Zahra Ahmadipur and Alireza Mansourian, *Taqsimat-e keshvari va bisobati-ye siyasi dar Iran*. (1285–1357). Faslnameh-ye Jeopolitik, Shomareh-ye 3, Bahar-e 1385/Spring 2006, p.69.
20. The reports published by the Secretary of Planning of Province in 2005, 2006, and 2007. Moavenat-e barnameh rizi-ye Ostan-e Bushehr: *Gozarash-e eqtesadi va ejtemaei-ye Bushehr 1384, 1385, 1386*.
21. *Mostanadat-e touseh-ye ostān, Fasle Dovvom, The section on daramadha-ye omumi-ye ostān, 1386/2007*.
22. Ebrahim Forouzani, *Touseh-ye mantaqeh'i mohemtarin motalebeh-ye ostān-e Bushehr dar entekhabat-e riyasat-e jombhuri*, Nasim-e Jonoub, Shomareh-ye 333, 02.12.1383/20.02.2005.
23. Majid Ejraei, Nasim-e Jonoub, Shomareh-ye 297, 31.03.1383/20.06.2004.

24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. Alireza Mozafarizadeh, *Nasimi az daftar-e ayyam, gusheh'i az tarikh-e siyasi ejtemaei-e Bushehr dar faseleh-ye sal'ha-ye 1327-1367* (Tehran: Muasehch-ye tarikh-e Moaser-e Iran, 2008).
27. For example, Khoureshid Faqih, an outspoken local intellectual in this region, was a member of a secular leftist organization and spent several years in prison in the 1980s.
28. *Chera Asaluyeh beh Bushehr taaloq nadarad*, Nasim-e Jonoub, 24.07.1387/15.10.2008.
29. *Bitavajohi beh eshteghal-e bumi'ha dar Pars-e Jonoubi*, Nasim-e Jonoub, 26.10.1389/16. 01.2011.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
32. Nasim-e Jonoub, 09.05.1387/30.07.2008.
33. Ibid.
34. Khosrow Dehqani, *Gozinesh-e ostandar beh shiveh-ye . . .*, Nasim-e Jonoub, 30.04.1387/20.07.2008.
35. Faslnameh-ye Olum-e ejtemaei, Shomareh-ye 16, Payiz va Zemestan 1379/Fall and Winter 2000-2001, pp.102-103.
36. Mostafa Salimi, *Nahamguni'ha-ye eqtesadi-ye mantaqeh'i dar Iran*, Faslnameh-ye Eteleat-e siyasi eqtesadi, Shomareh-ye 121-122, Mehr va Aban-e -ye 1376/September-October-November 1997, pp.174-178. And Keramatollah Ziyari, *Sanjesh-e darajeh-ye touseeh yaftegi-ye farhangi-ye ostanha-ye Iran*, Faslnameh-ye Olum-e ejtemaei, Shomereh-ye 16. Payiz va Zemestan-e 1379/Fall and Winter 2000-2001.
37. Rosanvalon, *Pour Une Histoire Conceptuelle Du Politique*, p.18.
38. Qasem Yahosseini, *Tarikh-e matbuat-e shahrestanha-ye ostan*, Nasim-e Jonoub, Shomareh-ye 306, 29.06.83/19.09.2004.
39. Qasem Yahosseini, *Mir Mohanna, Ruyaruyi-ye ingisi'ha va holandi'ha dar khalij-e fars* (Tehran: Entesharat-e Parvin, 1995), *Atashi dar masir-e zendegi* (Bushehr: Entesharat-e Shoru', 2003), *SIRASHahr-e goftegu-ye farhang'ha* (Bushehr: Entesharat-e Shoru, 2005), *Motaleati dar bareh-ye Tangestan* (Tehran: Entesharat-e Golgasht, 2008), *Dashtestan dar nehzat-e melli va engelab-e eslami Iran*, (Qum: Nashr-e Mouud-e islam, 2008), are few examples of Yahosseini's work.
40. Qasem Yahosseini, *Tarikh-e matbuat-e shahrestanha-ye ostan*, Nasim-e Jonoub, Shomareh-ye 306. 29.06.83/22.08.2004. And other articles by Yahosseini, such as *Jay-e khali-ye muzeh-ye matbuat dar Bushehr*, Nasim-e Jonoub, Shomareh-ye 310. 29..06.1383/19.09.2004, *Nim negabi bar tarikh-e matbuat-e Dashtestan*, Ketab-e Mah, Kohrdad 1387, Shomareh-ye 126, p.62.
41. *Az 30 Nashbriyeh-ye ostan tanha dou haftenamch-ye Delvar va Seraj, khastar-e tashkile khaneh-ye matbuat-e doulati hastand.*, Nasim-e Jonoub, 06.05.1387/27.07.2008.

42. Qasem Yahosseini, *Tarikh-e matbuat-e shahrestanha-ye ostan*, Nasim-e Jonoub, Shomareh-ye 290., 13.02.1383/02.05.2004.
43. By Pragmatist conservative forces, I mean those affiliated to Mohammad Baqer Qalibaf, Terhran's Mayor, and Hassan Rouhani, the head of the Office of the Strategic Studies of Iran's Expediency Council.
44. Bayrami, 13.06.1389/04.09.2010, Ettehad-e Jonoub, 22.06.1389/13.09.2010, Nasim-e Jonoub, 29.06.1389/20.09.2010.
45. *Modir koll-e ershad, yar-e shater ya bar-e qater*, Paygham, 13.08.1386/04.11.2007.
46. Abdolkarim Neisi, *Khaneh-ye matbuat-e mahali-ye Bushehr, Halqeh-ye ete-sale nashriyat-e mardomi*, Nasim-e Jonoub, 13.04.1390/04.07.2011.
47. *Avvalin sardabir-e Peygham man budam... man!*, Paygham, 11.05.1389/02.08.2010.
48. Khourshid Faqih, *Peygham va obur az nahusat-e sizdah*, peygham, 18.05.1389/09.08.2010.
49. Nasim-e Jonoub, 14.06.89/05.09.2010, and 29.06.1389/20.09.2010.
50. *Darkhast-e ruznameh negaran-e az Khatami, Azadi-ye bayan, Azadi-ye pas az bayan, Azadi-ye rasaneh*, Nasim-e Jonoub, 19.12.1387/09.03.2009.
51. *Vazeiyat-e matbuat-e ostan dar sali keh gozasht ra chguneh arzyabi mikonid?* Bayrami, 03.02.1389/23.04.2010.
52. Khourshid Faqih, *Peygham va obur az nahusat-e sizdah*, Peygham, 18.05.1389/09.08.2010.
53. Khourshid Faqih, *Chand-o-chuni dar tarikh-e memari-ye Bushehr*, Nasir-e Bushehr, 05.05.1384/27.07.2005.
54. Khourshid Faqih, *Dars'hai az vaqaye-e mantaqeh, Setiz miyan-e zedd-e azadi va azadikhabi*, Nasim-e Jonoub, 29.01.1390/18.04.2011.
55. *Aqayan-e nafti, ayandeh-ye man-e bumi -ye tahsilkardeh cheh mishavad.*, Nasim-e Jonoub, 29.01.1390/18.04.2011.
56. Nasim-e Jonoub, 22.01.1390/11.04.2011.
57. Ibid.
58. Qasem Yahosseini, *Sargozasht-e Nasim-e Jonoub*, Nasim-e Jonoub, Shomareh-ye 500, 13.04.1377/02.06.2008 and Qasem Ya-osseini, *Tarikh-e matbuat-e shahrestanha-ye ostan*, Nasim-e Jonoub, Shomareh-ye 290., 13.02.1383/02.05.2004.
59. *Matn-e defaiyeh Yunes Qeisizadeh modir masul-e Hafieh nameh-ye Nasim-e Jonoub dar dadgab-e shekayat-e Seda va Sima*. Nasim-e Jonoub, 05.07.1383/26.09.2004.
60. Qasem Yahosseini, *Sargozasht-e Nasim-e Jonoub*, Nasim-e Jonoub, 13.04.1387/02.06.2008, and *Farjam-e kar-eyek namayنده: yaddasht'ha-ye Mohammad Dadfar namyandeh-ye Bushehr, Genaveh va Deylam*, Nasim-e Jonoub, 27.02.1383/16.05.2004.
61. Ebrahim Forouzani, *Sarkhoushi va rendi beh sabk-e Bushehri*, Nasim-e Jonoub, 13.02.1383/02.05.2004.
62. Nasim-e Jonoub, 28.04.1388/09.07.2009.

63. Saïd Amir Arjomand, *After Khomeini*, p.132; Daniel Brumberg, *Reinventing Khomeini*, p.244.
64. Ebrahim Forouzani, *Demokrasi-ye khub, modiriyat-e khub*, Nasim-e Jonoub, 03.10.1385/24.12.2006.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid.
68. Hamid Muazani, *Mar va peleh-ye siyosat-e Irani*, Nasim-e Jonoub, 03.10.1385/24.12.2006.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid.
71. Ibid.
72. Mahmoud Sariolqalam's work is full of generalizations and essentializations about the Iranian political culture and the Iranians. See *Farhang-e siyasi-ye Iran* (Tehran: Pazhoeshkade-ye Motaleat-e farhangi ejtemaei, 1386/2007), and *Afat-e metodologike tafakkor dar Iran*, *Etelaat-e Siyasi eqtesadi Shomareh-ye 133-134*, Mehr-Aban 1377/1998.
73. Khourshid Faqih, *Payam va payamad'ha-ye yek rafter-e madani-ye mardom-e Bushehr, negabhi jeddi beh entekhabat-e shoura dar shahr-e Bushehr*, Nasim-e Jonoub, 03.10.1385/24.12.2006.
74. Ibid.
75. Namju Zahmatkesh, *Qabl az entekhabat va bad az entekhabat*, Nasim-e Jonoub, 03.10.1385/24.12.2006.
76. Nasim-e Jonoub, 28.09.1385/19.12.2006.
77. Mohammad Mehdi, *Eslahtalaban ba'd az entekhabat*, Nasim-e Jonoub, 18.10.1385/08.01.2007.
78. Nasim-e Jonoub, 06.08.1387/03.11.2008.
79. Mohammad Dadfar, *Shoar-e faqat Khatami bejay-e Shoar-e taein-e namzad-e vahed*, Nasim-e Jonoub, 20.08.1387/10.11.2008.
80. Nasim-e Jonoub, 09.12.1387/27.02.2009.
81. *Mosabebeh ba Heidarzadeh dabir-e hezb-e Hambastegiy-ye Bushehr, Dar didar-e eslahtalaban ba Khatami cheh gozasht?* Nasim-e Jonoub, 27.12.1387/17.03.2009.
82. Khosrow Dehqani, *Pazel-e eslahtalaban va degardisi-ye Mir-Hossein*, Nasim-e Jonoub, 28.01.1388/17.04.2009. Mir Hossein Mousavi was Iran's prime minister for eight years in 1980s, during the war with Iraq, and he withdrew from politics from 1989 to 2009. With the emergence of the reform movement in the 1990s and early 2000s, he had become an obscure politician and a puzzling political figure for millions of Iranians who either had no memory of his premiership or had been transformed ideologically and, thus, saw Mousavi as a remnant of the past who they would rather forget.
83. Mohammad Dadfar, *Mohemtar az qarar gereftan-e eslahtalaban posht-e sar-e Mousavi qarar gereftan Mousavi dar bein-e eslahtalaban ast*, Nasim-e Jonoub, 13.02.1388/03.05.2209.

84. Nasim-e Jonoub, 05.02.1388/25.04.2009.
85. Mohammad Dadfar, *Mohemtarin vizhegi-ye Mir Hossein? Talash baray-e shoarha-ye enqelab*, Nasim-e Jonoub, 19.02.1388/09.05.2009.
86. Khosrow Dehqani, *Az osulgerayan-e eslahtalab ta eslahtalaban-e osulgera*, Nasim-e Jonoub, 25.02.1388/15.05.2009, Khourshid Faqih, *Az tars-e marg, tavasol beh khoudkoshi*, Nasim Jonoub, 01.03.1388/22.05.2009. Khourshid Faqih, *Az ouj-e eslahtalabi ta haziz-e sadeh zisti*, Nasim-e Jonoub, 03.03.1388/24.05.2009.
87. *Elam-e hemayat-e 170 nafar az ruznameh negaran, honarmandan, sha'eran va nevisandedgan –e Bushehr az Mir Hossein Mousavi*, Nasim-e Jonoub, 10.03.1388/31.05.2009, and *Hemayat-e faragir-e farhangiyān-e Bushehr az Mir Hossein Mousavi*, Nasim-e Jonoub, 16.03.1388/06.06.2009.
88. *Natijeh-ye nazarsanji'ha-ye rasmi dar Bushehr, Mousavi Ra'y-e avval-e Busheheriha*, Nasim-e Jonoub, 16.03.1388/06.06.2009.
89. Nasim-e Jonoub, 31.03.1388/21.06.2009, Nasim-e Jonoub, 05.04.1388/26.06.2009, Bayrami, 01.04.1388/22.06.2009.
90. Mashallah Kazeruni (Beh kushesh-e Qasem Yayhosseini), *Dashtestan dar nehzat-e milli va enqelab-e eslami-ye Iran* (Qum: Entesharat-e Mou'ud-e Eslam, 2008), pp.271–280.
91. Yunes Qeisizadeh, *Ruznameh negaran-e zendani?!*, Nasim-e Jonoub, shomareh-ye 552., 17.04.1388/08.07.2009.
92. Flynt Leverett and Hillary Mann Leveret, Who's Really Misreading Tehran? Wishful Thinking and Bad Analysis Has Inflated Iran's Green Movement into Something It Certainly Is Not: Viable Alternative to Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, *Foreign Policy*, 2010/06/14, and Farhad Khosrokhavar, paper presented to *Iran: From Protest to Politics*, a symposium on the struggle for democracy in Iran today, December 2010.
93. It is impossible to count the number of articles on democracy and its synonym, mardomsalari, as theory and practice in Iran, and their shortcomings, since 1997 in local newspapers in Busheher. Whereas one group of local intellectuals defends liberal democracy, other groups advocate participatory democracy. See for instance: *Demokrasi rabi baray-e pishraft* (issue 449, May 2008), *Shakhes'ha-ye andazehgiri-ye demokrasi* (issue 548, July 2008), and *Lozum-e khatemeh-ye Khatami, nou eslahat va mosharekat-e mashrut* (issue 459, August 2008) published in Nasim-e Jonoub.
94. The weekly newspaper Nasim-e Jonoub dedicated almost an entire issue to the subject and engaged many local intellectuals as well as the parliament members of the province to protest against the Ministry of Culture's decision to ban the newspapers. See Nasim-e Jonoub, 14.06.1388/05.09.2010.
95. Nasim-e Jonoub, 19.07.1391/10.10.2011.
96. Although the conservatives gained the majority of seats in the 2007 local elections in Tehran, the reform-oriented forces were the winner of the election in Bushehr.

97. Jacques Rancière argues that the contingency of every socio-political order is revealed when human individuals or groups who have not been counted as equals with the rest of the society declare their equality and reconfigure the existing order. Christian Ruby, *L'interuption: Jacques Rancière et la Politique* (Paris: La Fabrique Éditions, 2009), p.22.
98. The disbandment of the local council of Ahvaz, the provincial capital of Khuzestan, is a case in point. See *Hokm-e enbelal-e shoura-ye shahr-e Ahvaz beh ostandar eblagh shod*. Khabargozari-ye Mehr (<http://www.mehrnews.com/fa/newsdetail.aspx?NewsID=1327047>) July 02.2011.
99. *Letter of condolence to all the lovers of freedom and justice*, signed by seventy intellectuals and political activists in Busheher, Nasim-e Jonoub, 10.03.1390/31.05.2011.
100. Rancière, *Disagreement*, p.28
101. *Bayaniyeh-ye Shomareh-ye 14 Mir Hossein Mousavi*, in *Ketab-e Mojmueh-ye Bayaniyeh-ye Mir Hossein Mousavi* (Collection of Mousavi's statements) published by Kalemeh: Mousavi's official website(<http://www.kaleme.com/1389/12/29/klm-52519/>) (08.06.2011).

7 Politics of Words and Images

1. Made by Asghar Farhadi.
2. Daryush Shayegan, *Cultural Schizophrenia: Islamic Societies Confronting the West* (London: Saqi Books, 1992), pp.9–10.
3. Seyyed Javad Tabatabayi, *Ibn-e Kholdun va olum-e ejtemaei, vaziyat-e olum-e ejtemaei dar tamaddon-e eslam* (Tehran: Enteshar-e Tarh-e nou, 1995), pp.10–12.
4. Mousa Ghaninezhad, *Demokrasi-ye Irani va sosialism-e Irani*, *Etelaate siyasi eqtesadi, shomareh-ye 51–52*, Azar va Day 1370./November–December–January 1991–1992, p.30.
5. *Ibid.*, p.31.
6. *Ibid.*, pp.22–28.
7. Mohammadali Homayun Katouzian (Homa Katouzian), *Doubareh: Demokrasi-ye Irani va sosialism-e Irani*, *Etelaate siyasi eqtesadi, Shomareh-ye 55–56*, Farvardin va Ordibehesht, 137/March–April–May 1992, p.49.
8. *Ibid.*, p.49.
9. *Ibid.*, pp.49–50.
10. *Ibid.*, p.50.
11. Katouzian, *Musaddiq and the Struggle for Power in Iran*, p.xvi.
12. Homa Katouzian, *State and Society in Iran: The Eclipse of the Qajars and the Emergence of the Pahlavis* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2006), pp.55–87.
13. *Ibid.*, pp.25–54.
14. Jalal Al-e Ahmad, *Dar khedmat va khiyanat-e roushanfekran* (Tehran: Kharazmi, 1978), pp.375–376.
15. Rancière, *The Names of History: On the Poetics of Knowledge*, p.21.

16. Nazemoleslam Kermani, *Tarikh-e bidari-ye Iranian*, beh Ehtemam-e Ali Akbar Saidi Sirjani, (Tehran: Muaseseh-ye Entesharat-e Agah, 1983), pp.244–245. The Kaviani fashion of revolt refers to the history of the Zahak Shah and the Kaviani uprising in Fedousi's epic.
17. Kermani, *Tarikh-e bidari-ye Iranian*, p.245.
18. Ibid., p.245.
19. Ibid., p.247.
20. Raymond Aron, *Democracy and Totalitarianism* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), p.83.
21. Rancière, *Hatred of Democracy*, p.72.
22. Kermani, *Tarikh-e bidari-ye Iranian*, p.251.
23. Ibid., p.253.
24. Ibid., p.256.
25. Ibid., pp.252–253.
26. Abrahamian, *A History of Modern Iran*, p.53.
27. Michael P. Zerisky, Imperial Power and Dictatorship: Britain and the Rise of Reza Shah, 1921–1926, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (Nov 1992), pp.645–649.
28. Sanam Vakil, *Women and Politics in the Islamic Republic of Iran* (New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group, 1911), p.76.
29. *Asnad-e tarikhī-ye jonbesh-e karegari, Sosial Demokrasi va Komonisti-ye Iran*, Asar-e Avtis Soltanzadeh, Beh kushesh-e Khosrow Shakeri (Zandiyeh), Farhad Keshavarz, Amir Hossein Ganjbakhsh (date and place of publication unknown), p.202.
30. Rancière, *The Empancipated Spectator*, pp.17–18.
31. The Islamic Republic uses the state media and public education to transmit its knowledge of the imperialist domination. The opposition uses internet, private TV channels, and, of course, the media owned by Western states, to expose dictatorship in Iran.
32. Rancière, *Hatred of Democracy*, p.72.
33. Jacques Rancière, *Racisme, une passion d'en haut*, Media part 14 September 2010.
34. Mohammad Nakhshab, *Majmueh-ye asar-e Mohammad Nakhshab*, pp.222–223.
35. Ibid., p.222.
36. Hanna Arendt, *On Revolution* (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), pp.270–271.
37. Rancière, *Hatred of Democracy*, p.53.
38. Bernard Manin, *The Principles of Representative Government* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p.203.
39. Ibid., pp.2–3.
40. Rancière, *Hatred of Democracy*, p.54.
41. Hana Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), p.144.
42. Rancière, *Hatred of Democracy*, p.55.

43. Ibid.
44. Six decades after Al-e Ahamd's critique, a U.S.-educated Iranian political scientist, who claimed to be one of president Rouhani's advisers, describes politics as a science and profession that suits competent and qualified people. See Mahmoud Sarioqalam, *Eshgg va siayat*, p.10, <http://www.sarioghalam.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/Eshg-va-siyasat2.pdf>.
45. Jalal Al-e Ahmad, *Dar khedmat va khiyanat-e roushanfekran*, pp.372–373.
46. Ibid., p.409.
47. Hamid Reza Sadr, *A Political History of Iranian Cinema* (London: I. B: Tauris, 2006), p.137.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid., p.138.
50. The other film that marks the Iranian new wave cinema in 1969.
51. *Khaterat-e Masoud Kimiayi az Parviz Davayi, Ali Shariati, va Shabakeh-ye dou*, (Sharvand-e Emruz, Shomareh-ye 71, Sale Sevvom, 18.08.1387/2008).
52. Sadr, *A Political History of Iranian Cinema*, p.139.
53. Martin Jay, *Marxism and Totality: The Adventures of a Concept from Lukács to Habermas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p.371.
54. Parviz Kimiavi's *Moghoul'ha*, 1973.
55. Sadr, *A Political History of Iranian Cinema*, p.135.
56. Ibid., p.135.
57. The film is not even mentioned in the narratives of the 1970s Iranian cinema.
58. Mehran Modiri, who has made TV series and features films since the early 1990s. is by far the most creative Iranian visual satirist these days.
59. Hamid Muazani, *Tarikh-e sinema-ye Bushehr, Gofiar'hai dar bab-e chisti-ye sinema* (Bushehr: Entesharat-e Shoru, 2010), p.290.
60. Ibid.
61. Nader and Simin: *A Separation* (2011) by Asghar Farhadi.
62. Etemad Newspaper, 09.11.1390/ 28.02.2012.
63. Mehdi Mozafari Savoji, *Shenakht nameh-ye Masoud Kimiayi, Jeld-e Dovvom* (Tehran: Entesharat-e Morvarid, 2010).
64. James Petras, <http://www.globalresearch.ca/iranian-elections-the-stolen-elections-hoax/14018>
65. https://gulfunit.wordpress.com/tag/khatami/_truncated and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=endscreen&v=WmDnDVWYfqtY&NR=1>
66. <http://www.hellocoton.fr/to/c55a#http://www.evene.fr/cinema/actualite/une-separation-interview-asghar-farhadi-ours-d-or-3308.php>
67. See, for instance, Ali Mirsepassi, *Democracy in Modern Iran, Islam, Culture, and Political Change* (New York: New York University Press, 2010), and *The Green Movement in Iran*, Edited by Navid Nikzadfar (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2011).
68. Nasim-e Jonoub, 22.11.1390 /12. 03.2012.
69. Mir Hossein Mousavi, *Bayaniyeh Shomareh 5*.

70. Habib Lajevardi, *Labor Unions and Autocracy in Iran* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1985), p.58.
71. Charles Bingham and Gert J.J. Biesta, with Jacques Rancière, *Jacques Rancière: Education, Truth, Emancipation*, p.155. (New York: Continuum, 2010)
72. Mohammad Nourizad, a well-known dissident since 2009, has published numerous open letters to Ayatollah Khamenei, in which he criticized the leader's dictatorial rule. Others have used the internet, newspapers, and even state TV to defend democratic changes in Iran.

Conclusion

1. *Stephen Greenblatt, Shakespeare in Tehran*, <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2015/apr/02/shakespeare-in-tehran/>
2. Ibid.
3. Hamid Dabashi, *Shakespeare in Wonderland, Not in Iran: American Scholar Turns Orientalist and Leaves his Iranian Hosts Startled*. <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2015/03/shakespeare-tehran-150319070952978.html>
4. Italics are mine.
5. Dabashi, *Shakespeare in Wonderland*.
6. Warren Beauty's film, *Red* (1981).
7. Hamid Dabashi, *Theology of Discontent*, p.13.

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